THE

TRUE GRANDEUR OF NATIONS:

AN

ORATION

DELIVERED BEFORE THE AUTHORITIES

OF THE CITY OF BOSTON,

JULY 4, 1845.

BY CHARLES SUMNER.

O! YET A NOBLER TASK AWAITS THY HAND!
FOR WHAT CAN WAR BUT ENDLESS WAR STILL BREED?
TILL TRUTH AND RIGHT FROM VIOLENCE BE FREED.
MILTON, SONNET TO FAIRFAX.

STEREOTYPE EDITION.

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It is put at cost price—twenty dollars a thousand, or two dollars a hundred—the obje being purely a benevolent one,—to aid in the effort to impress upon the mind and conscien of this nation the evils, sinfulness, and oppressive burdens of War; and, consequently, t duty and policy of preserving Peace, and the inestimable and unnumbered blessings th result therefrom.

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C. D. C.

PHILADELPHIA, *May* 1, 1848.

ORATION.

It is in obedience to an uninterrupted usage in ›ur community, that, on this Sabbath of the Na-›ion,* we have all put aside the common cares of ife, and seized a respite from the never-ending oils of labor, to meet in gladness and congratula-ion, mindful of the blessings transmitted from the 'ast, mindful also, I trust, of the duties to the 'resent and the Future. May he who now ad-lresses you be enabled so to direct your minds, hat you shall not seem to have lost a day!

All hearts first turn to the Fathers of the Re-›ublic. Their venerable forms rise before us, and ve seem to behold them, in the procession of suc-essive generations. They come from the frozen ock of Plymouth, from the wasted bands of Raleigh, from the Heavenly companionship of Vilham Penn, from the anxious councils of the Revolution, and from all those fields of sacrifice, n which, in obedience to the Spirit of their Age, hey sealed their devotion to duty with their lood. They seem to speak to us, their children: Cease to vaunt yourselves of what you do, and f what has been done for you. Learn to walk umbly, and to think meekly of yourselves. Cul-vate habits of self-sacrifice, and of devotion to uty. May our words be always in your minds, ever aim at aught which is not RIGHT, persuaded hat without this, every possession and all know-edge will become an evil and a shame. Strive › increase the inheritance which we have be-ueathed; know, that, if we excel you in virtue, ich a victory will be to us a mortification, while efeat will bring happiness. It is in this way, hat you may conquer us. Nothing is more shame-l for a man, than to found his title to esteem, ot on his own merits, but on the fame of his an-estors. The glory of the Fathers is doubtless to heir children a most precious treasure; but to njoy it without transmitting it to the next gene-ation, and without adding to it yourselves, this is he height of imbecility. Following these coun-els, when your days shall be finished on earth, ou will come to join us, and we shall receive you s friends receive friends; but if you neglect our vords, expect no happy greeting then from us."

Honor to the memory of our Fathers! May the rf lie gently on their sacred graves! But let us ot in words only, but in deeds also, testify our everence for their name. Let us imitate what in hem was lofty, pure, and good; let us from them earn to bear hardship and privation. Let us, who ow reap in strength what they sowed in weak-ess, study to enhance the inheritance we have eceived. To do this, we must not fold our hands n slumber, nor abide content with the Past. To ach generation is committed its peculiar task; nor does the heart, which responds to the call of duty, find rest except in the world to come.

Be ours, then, the task which, in the order of Providence, has been cast upon us! And what is this task? How shall we best perform the part assigned to us? What can we do to make our coming welcome to our Fathers in the skies, and to draw to our memory hereafter the homage of a grateful posterity? How can we add to the in-heritance we have received? The answer to these questions cannot fail to interest all minds, particu-larly on this anniversary of the birth-day of our country. Nay, more; it becomes us, on this occa-sion, as patriots and citizens, to turn our thoughts inward, as the good man dedicates his birth-day to the consideration of his character, and the mode in which its vices may be corrected and its vir-tues strengthened. Avoiding, then, all exultation in the prosperity that has enriched our land, and in the extending influence of the blessings of free-dom, let us consider what we can do to elevate our character, to add to the happiness of all, and to attain to that righteousness which exalteth a nation. In this spirit, I propose to inquire *what, in our age, are the true objects of national ambition —what is truly national glory—national honor—*

WHAT IS THE TRUE GRANDEUR OF NATIONS.

I hope to rescue these terms, so powerful over the minds of men, from the mistaken objects to which they are applied, from deeds of war and the extension of empire, that henceforward they may be attached only to acts of Justice and Hu-manity.

The subject will raise us to the contemplation of things that are not temporary or local in their character; but which belong to all ages and all countries; which are as lofty as Truth, as univer-sal as Humanity. But it derives a peculiar in-terest, at this moment, from transactions in which our country has become involved. On the one side, by an act of unjust legislation, extending our power over Texas, we have endangered peace with Mexico; while on the other, by a presump-tuous assertion of a disputed claim to a worthless territory beyond the Rocky Mountains, we have kindled anew on the hearth of our Mother Coun-try the smothered fires of hostile strife. Mexico and England both aver the determination to vin-dicate what is called the national *honor;* and the dread arbitrament of war is calmly contemplated by our Government, provided it cannot obtain what is called an "*honorable* peace."

Far be from our country and our age the sin and shame of contests hateful in the sight of God and all good men, having their origin in no righte-

* The Fourth of July.

country, in no generous thirst for fame, that last infirmity of noble minds, but springing in both cases from an ignorant and ignoble passion for new territories; strengthened, in one case, by an unnatural desire, in this land of boasted freedom, to fasten by new links the chains which promise soon to fall from the limbs of the unhappy slave! In such contests, God has no attribute which can join with us. Who believes that the *national honor* will be promoted by a war with Mexico or England? What just man would sacrifice a single human life, to bring under our rule both Texas and Oregon? It was an ancient Roman, touched, perhaps, by a transient gleam of Christian truth, who said, when he turned aside from a career of Asiatic conquest, that he would rather save the life of a single citizen than become master of all the dominions of Mithridates.

A war with Mexico would be mean and cowardly; but with England it would be at least bold, though parricidal. The heart sickens at the murderous attack upon an enemy, distracted by civil feuds, weak at home, impotent abroad; but it recoils in horror from the deadly shock between children of a common ancestry, speaking the same language, soothed in infancy by the same words of love and tenderness, and hardened into vigorous manhood under the bracing influence of institutions drawn from the same ancient founts of freedom.

IN OUR AGE THERE CAN BE NO PEACE THAT IS NOT HONORABLE; THERE CAN BE NO WAR THAT IS NOT DISHONORABLE.*

The true honor of a nation is to be found only in deeds of justice and in the happiness of its people, all of which are inconsistent with war. In the clear eye of Christian judgment, vain are its victories; infamous are its spoils. He is the true benefactor, and alone worthy of honor, who brings comfort where before was wretchedness, who dries the tear of sorrow; who pours oil into the wounds of the unfortunate; who feeds the hungry and clothes the naked; who unlooses the fetters of the slave; who does justice; who enlightens the ignorant; who enlivens and exalts by his virtuous genius, in art, in literature, in science, the hours of life; who, by words or actions, inspires a love for God and for man. This is the Christian hero, this is the man of honor in a Christian land. He is no benefactor, nor deserving of honor, whatever may be his worldly renown, whose life is passed in acts of force; who renounces the great law of Christian brotherhood, whose vocation is blood; who triumphs in battle over his fellow-men. Well may old Sir Thomas Browne exclaim, "the world does not know its greatest men;" for thus far it has chiefly discerned the violent brood of battle, the armed men springing up from the dragon's teeth sown by Hate, and cared little for the truly good men, children of Love, guiltless of their country's blood, whose steps on earth have been as noiseless as an angel's wing.

It is not to be disguised that these views differ from the generally received opinions of the world down to this day. The voice of man has been given mostly to the praise of military chieftains, and the honors of victory have been chanted even by the lips of woman. The mother, while rocking her infant on her knees, has stamped on the tender mind, at that age more impressible than wax, the images of war; she has nursed his slumbers with its melodies; she has pleased his waking hours with its stories; and selected for his playthings the plume and the sword. The child is father to the man; and who can weigh the influence of these early impressions on the opinions of later years? The mind which trains the child is like the hand which commands the end of a long lever; a gentle effort at that time suffices to heave the enormous weight of succeeding years. As the boy advances to youth he is fed like Achilles, not only on honey and milk, but on bear's flesh and lion's marrow. He draws his nutriment of his soul from a literature, whose beautiful fields have been moistened by human blood. Fain would I offer my tribute to the Father of Poetry, standing, with harp of immortal melody, on the misty mountain-top of distant antiquity; to all those stories of courage and sacrifice which emblazon the annals of Greece and Rome; to the fulminations of Demosthenes, the splendors of Tully; to the sweet verse of Virgil and the poetic prose of Livy. Fain would I offer my tribute to the new literature, which springs up in modern times as a vigorous forest from the burnt site of ancient woods; to the passionate song of the Troubadour of France, and the Minnesinger of Germany; to the thrilling ballads of Spain, and the delicate music of the Italian. But from all these has breathed the breath of life that has swept the heart-strings of innumerable generations of men!

And when the youth becomes a man, his country invites his services in war, and holds b

* It will be observed that this proposition is restrained to *our* age. It is not intended to express any opinion with regard to the Past, and particularly, with regard to the War of the Revolution. Wars are the natural consequence of the predominance of the *animal* part of our nature; but the day has now arrived in which we should *declare Independence* of the bestial propensities, and recognize the supremacy of the moral and intellectual faculties. The question of the justifiableness of the War of the Revolution has been handled with great strength and freedom by Hon. William Jay, in his admirable publication, Peace and War; in a sermon by Rev. Mr. Judd, and by the late Mr. Grimké, of South Carolina, in his address before the Connecticut Peace Society.

There is one conclusion, following, with irresistible force, from the assumption that our Fathers were justifiable in their course, which few, if any, would wish to have promulgated. It relates to the present condition of *our* slaves. At the time of the Stamp Act and Tea Tax, the population of the Colonies amounted to about *two* millions (according to Mr. Burke, though our writers have called it *three*); their grievance, their slavery, was the necessity of paying a few pence, more or less, on certain things, under the direction of a parliament in which they were not represented. No just or humane person can fail to perceive that all this was as a feather compared with the rod of oppression, now held by our country over *more than three millions of fellow-men*. If *two millions* were justified in resisting by *force* the assumptions of the British Parliament, as contrary to the law of nature, the principles of the common law, and the rights of Freedom; then *a fortiori*, the *three millions* of blacks, into whose souls we thrust the iron of the deadliest slavery the world has yet witnessed, would be justified in resisting by *force* the power that holds them in bondage. Can we proclaim such a truth?

To me, the more humane, the more Christian, the more expedient course, seems to be to leave that great question undisturbed in the coffins of our Fathers. There are minor rules of propriety, not to say of politeness and good breeding, that seem to indicate the same conclusion. The customary tone of reference to the war of the Revolution is in a spirit which would be considered indelicate with regard to any private or personal experience; and it seems to me well worthy of consideration, whether the time has not come for nations to put aside their habits of boasting, as indecorous, if not unchristian.

s bewildered imagination the highest prizes of nor. For him is the pen of the historian and e verse of the poet. His soul swells at the ought, that he also is a soldier; that his name all be entered on the list of those who have rne arms in the cause of their country; and rhaps, he dreams, that he too may sleep, like e Great Captain of Spain, with a hundred tro-ies over his grave. But the contagion spreads nong us, beyond those bands on whom is im-sed the positive obligation of law. Respectable izens volunteer to look like soldiers, and to fect, in dress, in arms and deportment, what is lled "the pride, pomp, and circumstance of glo-ous war." The ear-piercing fife has to-day filled r streets, and we have come together, on this nniversary, by the thump of drum and the sound martial music.

It is not strange, then, that the spirit of war ill finds a home among us; nor that its honors e still regarded. This fact may seem to give int to the bitter philosophy of Hobbes, who held at the natural state of mankind was war, and sustain the exulting language of the soldier in r own day, who has said: "War is the condi-n of this world. From man to the smallest sect, all are at strife; and the glory of arms, hich cannot be obtained without the exercise of nor, fortitude, courage, obedience, modesty and nperance, excites the brave man's patriotism, d is a chastening correction of the rich man's ride." I now ask,

WHAT IS WAR?

Let me give a short but strictly scientific an-er. *War is a public, armed, contest, between na-ns, in order to establish* JUSTICE *between them;* , for instance, to determine a disputed boundary e, or the title to a territory. It has been called Lord Bacon one of the highest trials of right, hen princes and states, that acknowledge no perior upon earth, shall put themselves upon e justice of God for the deciding of their con-versies by such success as it shall please him give on either side.

This definition may seem, at first view, to ex-ude what are termed by "martial logic," *defen-e wars.* But a close consideration of the subject ill make it apparent that no war can arise nong Christian nations at the present day, ex-pt to determine an asserted right. The wars ually and falsely called *defensive* are of this cha-cter. They are appeals for justice to force; deavors to redress evils by force. They spring m the sentiment of vengeance or honor. They flict evil for evil, and vainly essay to overcome il by evil. The wars that now lower from exico and England are of this character. On e one side, we assert a title to Texas, which is sputed; and on the other a title to Oregon, hich is disputed. Who can regard the *ordeal by ttle* in these causes as a defensive war? The ject proposed in 1834, by war with France, was secure the payment of five millions of dollars, other words, to determine by the arbitrament war, a question of justice. It would be mad-ss to term this a case of self-defence; it has en happily said, "if, because a man refuses to y a just debt, I go to his house and beat him, at is not *self-defence;*" but such was precisely the conduct proposed to be adopted by our country. The avowed purpose of the war, declared by the United States against Great Britain in 1812, was to obtain from the latter power an abandonment of her unrighteous claim to search American vessels. It is a mockery to miscall such a contest a *defensive* war.

I repeat, therefore, that war is a public armed contest, between nations, in order to establish justice between them.

When we have considered the character of war; the miseries it produces; and its utter and shameful insufficiency, as a means of establishing *justice*, we may then be able to determine, strictly and logically, whether it must not be ranked with crimes from which no true honor can spring, to individuals or nations, but rather condemnation and shame.

THE CHARACTER OF WAR.

I. And first, as to the character of war, or that part of our nature in which it has its origin. Listen to the voice of the ancient poet of Bœotian Ascra:

> This is the law for mortals ordained by the Ruler of Heaven;
> Fishes and Beasts and Birds of the air devour each other;
> JUSTICE *dwells not among them; only to* MAN *has he given*
> JUSTICE *the Highest and Best.*

The first idea that rises to the mind, in regarding war, is that it is a resort to force, whereby each nation strives to overpower the other. Reason, and the divine part of our nature, in which alone we differ from the beasts, in which alone we approach the Divinity, in which alone are the elements of *justice*, the professed object of war, are dethroned. It is, in short, a temporary adoption, by men, of the character of wild beasts, emulating their ferocity, rejoicing like them in blood, and seeking, as with a lion's paw, to hold an asserted right. This character of war is somewhat disguised, in more recent days, by the skill and knowledge which it employs; it is, however, still the same, made more destructive by the genius and intellect which have been degraded to its service. The early poets, in the unconscious simplicity of the world's childhood, make this strikingly apparent. All the heroes of Homer are likened in their rage to the ungovernable fury of animals, or things devoid of human reason or human affection. Menelaus presses his way through the crowd, "like a beast." Sarpedon was aroused against the Argives, "as a lion against the crooked-horned oxen;" and afterwards rushes forward, "like a lion nourished on the mountains for a long time famished for want of flesh, but whose courage compels him to go even to the well-guarded sheep-fold." The great Telamonian Ajax in one and the same passage is likened to "a beast," "a tawny lion," and "an obstinate ass;" and all the Greek chiefs, the flower of the camp, are described as ranged about Diomed, "like raw-eating lions or wild boars whose strength is irresistible." And Hector, the hero in whom cluster the highest virtues of polished war, is called by the characteristic term, "the tamer of horses," and one of his renowned feats in battle, indicating only brute strength, is where he takes up and hurls a stone which two of the strongest men could not easily put into a wagon; and he drives over dead bodies

and shields, while the axle is defiled by gore, and the guard about the seat, sprinkled from the horse's hoofs and from the tires of the wheels; and, in that most admired passage of ancient literature, before returning his child, the young Astyanax, to the arms of his wife, he invokes the gods for a single blessing on his head, that he may excel his father, and bring home *bloody spoils*, his enemy being slain, and *so make glad the heart of his mother*.

Illustrations of this nature might be gathered from the early fields of modern literature, as well as from the more ancient, all showing the unconscious degradation of the soldier, who, in the pursuit of *justice*, renounces the human character to assume that of the beasts. Henry V., in our own Shakspeare, in the spirit-stirring appeal to his troops, says:

> When the blast of war blows in our ears,
> *Then imitate the action of the tiger.*

This is plain and frank, and reveals the true character of war.

I need not dwell on the moral debasement of man that must ensue. All the passions of his nature are unleashed like so many blood-hounds, and suffered to rage. All the crimes which fill our prisons stalk abroad, plaited with the soldier's garb, and unwhipt of justice. Murder, robbery, rape, arson, theft, are the sports of this fiendish Saturnalia, when

> The gates of mercy shall be all shut up,
> And the fleshed soldier, rough and hard of heart,
> In the liberty of bloody hand shall range
> *With conscience wide as hell.*

Such is the foul disfigurement which war produces in man; man, of whom it has been said, "how noble in reason, how infinite in faculties! in form and moving, how express and admirable! in action, how like an angel! in apprehension, how like a God!"

MISERIES PRODUCED BY WAR.

II. Let us now consider more particularly the effects or consequences of this resort to brute force, in the pursuit of *justice*.

The immediate effect of war is to sever all relations of friendship and commerce between the two nations and every individual thereof, impressing upon each citizen or subject the character of enemy. Imagine this between England and the United States. The innumerable ships of the two countries, the white doves of commerce, bearing the olive of peace, would be driven from the sea, or turned from their proper purposes to be ministers of destruction; the threads of social and business intercourse which have become woven into a thick web, would be suddenly snapped asunder; friend could no longer communicate with friend; the twenty thousand letters, which each fortnight are speeded, from this port alone, across the sea, could no longer be sent, and the human affections and desires, of which these are the precious expression, would seek in vain for utterance. Tell me, you who have friends and kindred abroad, or who are bound to foreigners by the more worldly relations of commerce, are you prepared for this rude separation?

But this is little compared with what must follow. This is only the first portentous shadow of the disastrous eclipse, the twilight usher of thick darkness, that is to cover the whole heavens, as with a pall, to be broken only by the blazing lightnings of the battle and the siege.

The horrors of these redden every page of history; while, to the disgrace of humanity, the historian has rarely applied to their brutal authors the condemnation they deserve. A popular writer, in our own day, dazzled by those false ideas of greatness, at which reason and Christianity blush, does not hesitate to dwell on them with terms of rapture and eulogy. At Tarragona, above six thousand human beings, almost all defenceless, men and women, grey hairs and infant innocence, attractive youth and wrinkled age, were butchered by the infuriated troops in one night, and the morning sun rose upon a city whose streets and houses were inundated with blood. And yet this is called "a glorious exploit."* This was a conquest by the French. At a later day, Ciudad Rodrigo was stormed by the British, when there ensued, in the license of victory, a frightful scene of plunder and violence while shouts and screams on all sides fearfully intermingled with the groans of the wounded. The churches were desecrated, the cellars of wine and spirits were pillaged; fire was wantonly applied to different parts of the city; and brutal intoxication spread in every direction. It was only when the drunken men dropped from excess, or fell asleep, that any degree of order was restored, and yet the storming of Ciudad Rodrigo is pronounced "one of the most brilliant exploits of the British army."† This exploit was followed by the storming of Badajoz, in which the same scenes were enacted again with added atrocities. Let the story be told in the words of a partial historian: "Shameless rapacity, brutal intemperance, savage lust, cruelty and murder, shrieks and piteous lamentations, groans, shouts, imprecations, the hissing of fire bursting from the houses, the crashing of doors and windows, and the report of muskets used in violence, resounded for two days and nights in the streets of Badajoz! On the third, when the city was sacked, when the soldiers were exhausted by their excesses, the tumult rather subsided than was quelled! The wounded were then looked to, the dead disposed of."‡

The same terrible war affords another instance of the horrors of a siege, which cries to Heaven for judgment. For weeks before the surrender of Saragossa, the deaths were from four to five hundred daily; the living were unable to bury the dead, and thousands of carcasses, scattered about the streets and court-yards, or piled in heaps at the doors of churches, were left to dissolve in their own corruption, or to be licked up by the flames of the burning houses. The city was shaken to its foundation by sixteen thousand shells thrown during the bombardment, and the explosion of forty-five thousand pounds of powder in the mines, while the bones of forty thousand persons of every age and both sexes bore dreadful testimony to the unutterable attrocity of war.

These might be supposed to be pictures from

* Alison, Hist. of French Rev. VIII. 114.
† Ibid, Hist. VIII. 189.
‡ Napier, Hist. of Penins. War, IV. 431.

e age of Alaric, Scourge of God, or of Attila, ıose boast was, that the grass did not grow here his horse had set his foot; but no; they long to our own times. They are portions of e wonderful but wicked career of him, who ınds out as the foremost representative of orldly grandeur. The heart aches, as we follow n and his marshals from field to field of glory. Albuera in Spain, we see the horrid piles of rcasses, while all the night the rain pours wn, and the river and the hills and the woods each side resound with the dismal clamors d groans of dying men.* At Salamanca, long er the battle, we behold the ground still ınched by the skeletons of those who fell, and ewn with the fragments of casques and cuisses. We follow in the dismal traces of his ıssian campaign; at Valentina† we see the solers black with powder, their bayonets bent ith the violence of the encounter; the earth oughed with cannon shot, the trees torn and utilated, the field covered with broken carıges, wounded horses and mangled bodies, ıile disease, sad attendant on military suffering, eeps thousands from the great hospitals of the my, and the multitude of amputated limbs, hich there is not time to destroy, accumulate in ody heaps, filling the air with corruption.‡ hat tongue, what pen, can describe the horrors the field of Borodino, where, between the rise d set of a single sun, more than one hundred ousand of our fellow-men, equalling in number e population of this whole city,§ sank to the rth dead or wounded? Fifty days after the ttle, no less than twenty thousand are found ıng where they have fallen, and the whole ain is strewn with half-buried carcasses of men d horses, intermingled with garments dyed in ood, and bones gnawed by dogs and vultures. ho can follow the French army, in their dismal treat, avoiding the pursuing spear of the Cosck, only to sink under the sharper frost and ice, a temperature below zero, on foot, without a elter for their bodies, and famishing on horsesh and a miserable compound of rye and snowater? Still later we behold him with a fresh ray, contending against new forces under the alls of Dresden; and as the Emperor rides over e field of battle, having supped with the king Saxony the night before, ghastly traces of the ntest of the preceding day are to be seen on all les; out of the newly made graves hands and ms are projecting, stark and stiff above the rth.‖ And shortly afterwards when shelter is eded for the troops, direction is given to occupy e Hospitals for the Insane, with the order, "turn ıt the mad." ¶

HORRORS OF THE SIEGE OF GENOA.

But why follow further in this career of blood? here is, however, one other picture of the atroons, though natural consequences of war, occurıg almost within our own day, that I would not nit. Let me bring to your mind Genoa, called e Suburb, City of Palaces, dear to the memory American childhood as the birth-place of Christopher Columbus, and one of the spots first enlightened by the morning beams of civilization, whose merchants were princes, and whose rich argosies, in those early days, introduced to Europe the choicest products of the East, the linen of Egypt, the spices of Arabia, and the silks of Samarcand. She still sits in Queenly pride, as she did then, her mural crown studded with towers, her churches rich with marble floors and rarest pictures, her palaces of ancient Doges and Admirals yet spared by the hand of Time, her close streets, thronged by one hundred thousand inhabitants, at the feet of the maritime Alps, as they descend to the blue and tideless waters of the Mediterranean sea, leaning with her back against their strong mountain side, overshadowed by the foliage of the fig-tree and the olive, while the orange and lemon fill with their perfume the air where reigns perpetual spring. Who can contemplate such a city without delight? Who can listen to the story of her sorrows without a pang?

In the autumn of 1799, the armies of the French Republic, which had dominated over Italy, were driven from their conquests, and compelled with shrunk forces, under Massena, to seek shelter within the walls of Genoa. After various efforts by the Austrian General on the land, aided by a bombardment from the British fleet in the harbor, to force the strong defences by assault, the city is invested by a strict blockade. All communication with the country is cut off on the one side, while the harbor is closed by the ever-wakeful British watch-dogs of war. Within the beleagured and unfortunate city are the peaceful inhabitants, more than those of Boston in number, besides the French troops. Provisions soon become scarce; scarity sharpens into want, till fell Famine, bringing blindness and madness in her train, rages like an Erinnys. Picture to yourself this large population, not pouring out their lives in the exulting rush of battle, but wasting at noon-day, the daughter by the side of the mother, the husband by the side of the wife. When grain and rice fail, flax-seed, millet, cocoas and almonds are ground by hand-mills into flour, and even bran, baked with honey, is eaten, not to satisfy, but to deaden hunger. During the siege, but before the last extremities, a pound of horse-flesh is sold for 32 cents; a pound of bran for 30 cents; a pound of flour for $1,75. A single bean is soon sold for four cents, and a biscuit of three ounces for $2,25, and none are finally to be had. The miserable soldiers, after devouring all the horses in the city, are reduced to the degradation of feeding on dogs, cats, rats and worms, which are eagerly hunted out in the cellars and common-sewers. Happy were now, exclaims an Italian historian, not those who lived, but those who died! The day is dreary from hunger; the night more dreary still from hunger accompanied by delirious fancies. Recourse is now had to herbs; monk's rhubarb, sorrel, mallows, wild succory. People of every condition, women of noble birth and beauty, seek, on the slope of the mountain enclosed within the defences, those aliments which nature destined solely for the beasts. A little cheese and a few vegetables are all than can be afforded to the sick and wounded, those sacred stipendaries upon human charity. Men and women, in the last anguish of despair, now fill the air with their

* Napier, Hist. of Peninsular War, III. 543.
† Alison, VII. 241. ‡ Ibid. VII. 355. § Boston.
‖ Alison, IX. 226. ¶ Ibid. IX. 267.

groans and shrieks; some in spasms, convulsions and contortions, gasping their last breath on the unpitying stones of the streets; alas! not more unpitying than man. Children, whom a dying mother's arms had ceased to protect, the orphans of an hour, with piercing cries, seek in vain the compassion of the passing stranger; but none pity or aid them. The sweet fountains of sympathy are all closed by the selfishness of individual distress. In the general agony, the more impetuous rush out of the gates, and impale themselves on the Austrian bayonets, while others precipitate themselves into the sea. Others still (pardon the dire recital!) are driven to eat their shoes and devour the leather of their pouches, and the horror of human flesh has so far abated that numbers feed like cannibals, on the bodies of the dead.*

At this stage the French general capitulated, claiming and receiving what are called "the honors of war;" but not before twenty thousand innocent persons, old and young, women and children, having no part or interest in the war, had died the most horrible of deaths. The Austrian flag floated over the captured Genoa but a brief span of time; for Bonaparte had already descended, like an eagle, from the Alps, and in less than a fortnight afterwards, on the vast plains of Marengo, shattered, as with an iron mace, the Austrian empire in Italy.

But wasted lands, ruined and famished cities, and slaughtered armies, are only a part of "the purple testament of bleeding war." Every soldier is connected, as all of you, by dear ties of kindred, love and friendship. He has been sternly summoned from the warm embraces of family. To him there is, perhaps, an aged mother, who has fondly hoped to lean her decaying frame upon his more youthful form; perhaps a wife, whose life has been just entwined inseparably with his, now condemned to wasting despair; perhaps brothers, sisters. As he falls on the field of battle, must not all these rush with his blood? But who can measure the distress that radiates as from a bloody sun, penetrating innumerable homes? Who can give the gauge and dimensions of this incalculable sorrow? Tell me, ye who have felt the bitterness of parting with dear friends and kindred, whom you have watched tenderly till the last golden sands have run out, and the great hour-glass is turned, what is the measure of your anguish? Your friend has departed, soothed by kindness and in the arms of love; the soldier gasps out his life with no friend near, while the scowl of hate darkens all that he beholds, darkens his own departing soul. Who can forget the anguish that fills the bosom and crazes the brain of Leonora, in the matchless ballad of Burger, who seeks in vain among the returning squadrons for her lover, left dead on Prague's ensanguined plain? But every field of blood has many Leonoras.

WAR UTTERLY INEFFECTUAL TO ESTABLISH JUSTICE.

III. From this dreary picture of the miseries of war, I turn to another branch of the subject.

War is utterly ineffectual to secure or advance the object at which it aims. The misery which it excites, contributes to no end, helps to establish no right, and, therefore, in no respect determines justice between the contending nations.

The fruitlessness and vanity of war appear in the results of the great wars by which the world has been lacerated. After long struggles, in which each nation has inflicted and received incalculable injury, peace has been gladly obtained on the basis of the condition of things before the war.—*Status ante Bellum.* Let me refer for an example to our last war with Great Britain, the professed object of which was to obtain from the latter Power a renunciation of her claim to impress our seamen. The greatest number of American seamen ever officially alleged to be compulsorily serving in the British navy was about eight hundred. To overturn this injustice, the whole country was doomed for more than three years to the accursed blight of war. Our commerce was driven from the seas; the resources of the land were drained by taxation; villages on the Canadian frontier were laid in ashes; the metropolis of the Republic was captured, while gaunt distress raged every where within our borders. Weary with this rude trial, our Government appointed Commissioners to treat for Peace, under these instructions: "Your first duty will be to conclude peace with Great Britain, and you are authorized to do it, *in case* you obtain a satisfactory stipulation against impressment, one which shall secure under our flag protection to the crew. If this encroachment of Great Britain is not provided against, *the United States have appealed to arms in vain.*"† Afterwards, despairing of extorting from Great Britain a relinquishment of the unrighteous claim, and foreseeing only an accumulation of calamities from an inveterate prosecution of the war, our Government directed their negotiators in concluding a Treaty of Peace, "*to omit any stipulation on the subject of impressment.*" The instructions were obeyed, and the Treaty that once more restored to us the blessings of Peace, which we had rashly cast away, and which the country hailed with an intoxication of joy, contained no allusion to the subject of impressment, nor did it provide for the surrender of a single American sailor detained in the service of the British navy, and thus, by the confession of our own Government, "the United States had appealed to arms IN VAIN."‡

* This picture has been drawn from the animated sketches of Botta (History of Italy, under Napoleon, vol. I. chap. I.) Alison, (Hist. of French Rev. vol. IV. chap. XXX.) and Arnold, (Modern History, Lec. IV.) The humanity of the latter is particularly aroused to the condemnation of this most atrocious murder of innocent people, and he suggests, as a sufficient remedy, a modification of the laws of war, permitting all non-combatants to withdraw from a blockaded town! They may be spared in this way the languishing death by starvation; but they must desert their firesides, their pursuits, all that makes life dear, and become homeless exiles; a fate little better than the former. It is strange that Arnold's pure soul and clear judgment did not recognize the great truth, that all war is unrighteous and unlawful, and that the horrors of this siege are its natural consequence. Laws of war! Laws in that which is lawless! order in disorder! rules of wrong! There can be only *one law of war;* that is the great law, which pronounces it unwise, unchristian and unjust. The term, Laws, or *Rights* of War, has been referred to the ancient Greeks; but it is believed that they are not chargeable with the invention of such a contradictory combination of words.

† American State Papers, vol. VII. p. 577.

‡ This sketch has been drawn from the *War and Peace,* Hon. William Jay, a gentleman whose various writings the cause of humanity, marked by rare power of log accuracy of statement, and elevated sentiment, will sh

All this is the natural result of an appeal to ar in order to establish *justice*. Justice implies e exercise of the judgment in the determination *right*. Now war not only supersedes the judgent, but delivers over the results to superiority *force* or to *chance*.

Who can measure beforehand the currents of e heady fight? In common language we speak the chances of battle; and soldiers whose lives e devoted to this harsh calling, yet speak of it a game. The Great Captain of our age, who emed to chain victory to his chariot-wheels, in formal address to his officers, on entering Rusa, says: "In war, *fortune* has an equal share ith ability in procuring success."* The mighty ctory of Marengo, the accident of an accident, rested unexpectedly at the close of the day from foe, who at an earlier hour was successful, must ve taught him the uncertainty of war. Afterards, in the bitterness of his spirit, when his mense forces had been shivered, and his triphant eagles driven back with broken wing, exclaimed, in that remarkable conversation rerded by the Abbe de Pradt: "Well! this is ar. High in the morning,—low enough at night. om a triumph to a fall is often but a step."† he military historian of the Peninsular camigns, says: "*Fortune* always asserts her suemacy in war, and often from a slight mistake, eh disastrous consequences flow, that in every e and in every nation, the *uncertainty* of wars s been proverbial;"‡ and again, in another ace, in considering the conduct of Wellington, says: "A few hours' delay, an accident, a turn fortune, and he would have been foiled! ay! t this is war, *always dangerous and uncertain*, an er-rolling wheel, and armed with scythes."§ d can intelligent man look for justice to an er-rolling wheel armed with scythes?

The character of war, as dependent upon ance, might be illustrated from every page of story. It is less discerned, perhaps, in the conct of large masses, than of individuals, though ually present in both. How capriciously the heel turned when the fortunes of Rome were ked on the combat between the Horatii and riatii, and who, at one time, could have augured t the single Horatius, with his two slain brothrs on the field, would have overpowered the ree living enemies?

But the most interesting illustration is to be nd in the history of the private wars, and parularly of the judicial combat, or of TRIAL BY TTLE, in the dark ages. The object proposed these cases was precisely the professed object modern war, the determination of justice. Did ne permit, it would be interesting and instrucve to trace the curious analogies between this rly ordeal by battle, child of superstition and ute force, and the great ordeal of war. Like e other ordeals, by burning ploughshares, by lding hot iron, by dipping the hand in hot ater, or hot oil, they are both a presumptuous peal to Providence, under an apprehension and pe, that Heaven will give the victory to him o has the right. The monstrous usage of trial by battle prevailed in the early modern centuries throughout Europe; it was a part of the common law of England; and though it fell into desuetude, overruled by the advancing spirit of civilization, still, to the disgrace of the English law, it was not legislatively abolished, until in 1817 the right to it had been distinctly claimed in Westminster Hall. Abraham Thornton, on appeal against him for murder, when brought into court, pleaded as follows: "Not guilty, and I am ready to defend the same by my body;" and thereupon taking off his glove, he threw it upon the floor of the court. The appellant did not choose to submit to this trial, and abandoned his proceedings. In the next session of Parliament, *trial by battle* was abolished in England. The Attorney General, on introducing the bill for this purpose, remarked that, "if the party had persevered he had no doubt the legislature would have felt it their imperious duty to interfere and pass an *ex post facto law, to prevent so degrading a spectacle from taking place.*"

on his name a fame not inferior to that of his illustrious ther.

* Alison, VIII. 346. † Ibid, IX. 239.

‡ Napier, VI. 687. § Ibid, IV. 477.

LOUIS THE NINTH.

To an early monarch of France belongs the honor of first interposing the royal authority, for the entire suppression within his jurisdiction of this impious usage, so universally adopted, so dear to the nobility, and so profoundly rooted in the institutions of the Feudal Age. And here let me pause with reverence, as I mention the name of St. Louis, a prince, whose unenlightened errors may find easy condemnation in our age of larger toleration and wider knowledge, but whose firm and upright soul, whose exalted sense of justice, whose fatherly regard for the happiness of his people, whose respect for the rights of others, whose conscience void of offence before God and man, make him foremost among Christian rulers, the highest example for a Christian prince or a Christian people. He was of conscience all-compact, subjecting all that he did to the single and exclusive test of moral rectitude, disregarding all considerations of worldly advantage, all fear of worldly consequences.

His soul, thus tremblingly sensitive to questions of right, was shocked by the judicial combat. In his sight, it was a sin thus to *tempt God*, by demanding of him a miracle, whenever judgment was to be pronounced. In 1260 he assembled a parliament, where he issued an ordinance, to take effect throughout the royal dominion, in which he expressly says: "*We forbid to all persons throughout our dominions the trial by battle;* and, instead of battles, we establish proofs by witnesses; and we do not take away the other good and loyal proofs which have been used in lay courts to this day. * * * AND THESE BATTLES WE ABOLISH IN OUR DOMINIONS FOR EVER."

Such were the restraints on the royal authority, that this Ordinance was confined in its operation to the demesnes of the King; and did not extend to those of the barons and feudatories of the realm. But where the power of St. Louis did not reach, there he laboured by his example, his influence, and his express intercession. He treated with many of the great vassals of the crown, and induced them to renounce this unnatural usage. Though for many years later France continued in

some parts to be vexed by it, still its overthrow commenced with the Ordinance of St. Louis.

Honor and blessings attend the name of this truly Christian King; who submitted all his actions to the Heaven-descended sentiment of duty; who began a long and illustrious reign by renouncing and restoring a portion of the conquests of his predecessor, saying to those about him, whose souls did not ascend to the height of his morality, "I know that the predecessors of the King of England have lost by the right of conquest the land which I hold; and the land which I give him, I do not give because I am bound to him or his heirs, *but to put love between my children and his children, who are cousin-germans;* and it seems to me that what I thus give, I employ to good purpose!" Honor to him who never grasped by force or cunning any new acquisition; who never sought advantage from the turmoils and dissensions of his neighbors, but studied to allay them; who, first of Christian Princes, rebuked the spirit of war, saying to those who would have him profit by the dissensions of his neighbors, "Blessed are the Peace-makers;" who abolished *trial by battle* throughout his dominions; who aimed to do justice to all his people, and to all neighbors, and in the extremity of his last illness, on the sickening sands of Tunis, among the bequests of his spirit, enjoined on his son and successor, "in maintaining justice, to be inflexible and loyal, neither turning to the right hand nor to the left!"

The history of the trial by battle will illustrate and bring home to your minds the chances of war, and the consequent folly and wickedness of submitting any question to its arbitrament. As we revert to those early periods in which it prevailed, our minds are impressed by the barbarism which we behold; we recoil, with horror, from the awful subjection of justice to brute force; from the impious profanation of the character of God in deeming him present in these outrages; from the moral degradation out of which they sprang, and which they perpuated; we involve ourselves in our self complacent virtue, and thank God that we are not as these men, that ours is, indeed, an age of light, while theirs was an age of darkness!

But are we aware that this monstrous and impious usage, which our enlightened reason so justly condemns in the cases of individuals, is openly avowed by our own country, and by the other countries of the earth, as a proper mode of determining justice between them? Be upon our heads and upon our age the judgment of barbarism, which we pronounce upon those that have gone before! At this moment, in this period of light, when the noon-day sun of civilization seems, to the contented souls of many, to be standing still in the heavens, as upon Gibeon, the relations between nations are governed by the same rules of barbarous, brutal force, which once prevailed between individuals. The dark ages have not passed away; Erebus and black Night, born of Chaos, still brood over the earth; nor shall we hail the clear day, until the mighty hearts of the nations shall be touched, as those of children, and the whole earth, individuals and nations alike, shall acknowledge

ONE AND THE SAME RULE OF RIGHT.

Who has told you, fond man! to regard that as a glory when performed by a nation, which is condemned as a crime and a barbarism, whe committed by an individual? In what vain con ceit of wisdom and virtue do you find this incon gruous morality? Where is it declared, that God who is no respecter of persons, is a respecter o multitudes? Whence do you draw these partia laws of a powerful and impartial God? Man i immortal; but States are mortal. He has a highe destiny than States. Shall States be less amenabl to the great moral laws? Each individual is a atom of the mass. Must not the mass be like th individuals of which it is composed? Shall th mass do what individuals may not do? No. Th same moral laws which govern individuals gover masses, as the same laws in nature prevail ove large and small, controlling the fall of an appl and the orbits of the planets. It was the beaut ful discovery of Newton, that gravity is a un versal property of matter, a law obeyed by ever particle in reference to every other particle, an connecting the celestial mechanism with terre trial phenomena. So the *Rule of Right*, whic binds the single individual, binds two or thre when gathered together—binds conventions an congregations of men—binds villages, towns an cities—binds states, nations and empires—clas the whole human family in its seven-fold er brace; nay more,

> Beyond the flaming bounds of place and time,
> The living throne, the sapphire blaze,

it binds the angels of Heaven, the Seraphim, fu of love, the Cherubim, full of knowledge: abo all, it binds, in self-imposed bonds, a just ar omnipotent God. It is of this, and not of a earthly law, that Hooker speaks in that magni cent period which sounds like an anthem; "(law no less can be said, than that her seat is t bosom of God, her voice the harmony of t world; all things in Heaven and earth do h homage, the very least as feeling her care, t greatest as not exempted from her power; bo angels and men, and creatures of what conditi soever, though each in different sort and mann yet all with uniform consent admiring her as t mother of their peace and joy."

We are struck with horror and our hair stan on end, at the report of a single murder; we thi of the soul that has been hurried to its final c count; we seek the murderer; and the law pu forth all its energies to secure his punishme Viewed in the clear light of truth, what are w and battle but organized murder; murder of m lice afore-thought; in cold blood; through t operation of an extensive machinery of crim with innumerable hands; at incalculable cos money; through subtle contrivances of cunni and skill; or by the savage brutal assault? W not the Scythian right, when he said to Alexand "Thou boastest that the only design of thy marc is to extirpate robbers; thou thyself art the great robber in the world." Among us one class of s robbers is hanged as pirates; another is hail with acclamation:

> Ille crucem sceleris pretium tulit, hic diadema.*

It was amidst the thunders which made Si tremble, that God declared; "Thou shalt not kil and the voice of these thunders, with this co

* Juvenal, Sat. XIII. 105.

nandment, has been prolonged to our own day in he echoes of Christian churches. What mortal hall restrain the application of these words? Who on earth is empowered to vary or abridge he commandments of God? Who shall presume o declare, that this injunction was directed, not to nations, but to individuals only; not to many but one only; that one man may not kill, but that many may; that it is forbidden to each individual destroy the life of a single human being, but hat it is not forbidden to a nation to cut off by he sword a whole people?

When shall the St. Louis of the nations arise? he Christian ruler or Christian people, who shall roclaim to the whole earth, that henceforward r ever the *great trial by battle* shall cease; that is the duty and policy of nations to establish ove between each other; and in all respects, at ll times, towards all persons, as well as their own eople, as the people of other lands, to be governed y the sacred rules of right, as between man and nan! May God speed the coming of that day!

OBSTACLES.

I have already alluded, in the early part of my emarks, to some of the obstacles to be encoun-ered by the advocate of Peace. One of these is he war-like tone of the literature, by which our inds and opinions are formed. The world has upped so full with battles, that all its inner modes f thought, and many of its rules of conduct seem be incarnadined with blood; as the bones of wine, fed on madder, are said to become red. ut I now pass this by, though a most fruitful heme, and hasten to other topics. I propose to nsider in succession, very briefly, some of those fluences and prejudices, which are most power-l in keeping alive the delusion of war.

WAR BELIEVED NECESSARY.

1. One of the most important of these is the rejudice to a certain extent in its favor founded n the *belief in its necessity*. The consciences of ll good men condemn it as a crime, a sin; even he soldier, whose profession it is, confesses that is to be resorted to only in the last necessity. ut a benevolent and omnipotent God cannot ren-er it *necessary* to commit a crime. When war is alled a necessity, it is meant, of course, that its bject cannot be gained in any other way. Now think that it has already appeared with distinct-ess, approaching demonstration, that the professed bject of war, which is justice between nations, is no respect promoted by war; that force is not ustice, nor in any way conducive to justice; that he eagles of victory can be the emblems only of uccessful force and not of established right. Jus-ce can be obtained only by the exercise of the eason and judgment; but these are silent in the in of arms. Justice is without passion; but war ets loose all the worst passions of our nature, hile "high arbiter Chance more embroils the ay." The age has passed in which a nation, ithin the enchanted circle of civilization, will ake war upon its neighbour, for any professed urpose of booty or vengeance. It does "nought hate, but all in *honor*." There are professions ven of tenderness which mingle with the first utterings of the dismal strife. Each of the two governments, as if conscience-struck at the abyss into which it is about to plunge, seeks to fix on the other the charge of hostile aggression, and to as-sume to itself the ground of defending some right; some stolen Texas; some distant, worthless Oregon. Like Pontius Pilate, it vainly washes its hands of innocent blood, and straightway allows a crime at which the whole heavens are darkened, and two kindred countries are severed, as the veil of the Temple was rent in twain.

The various modes which have been proposed for the determination of disputes between nations, are Negotiation, Arbitration, Mediation, and a Congress of Nations; all of them practicable and calculated to secure peaceful justice. Let it not be said then that war is a *necessity;* and may our country aim at the true glory of taking the lead in the recognition of these, as the only proper modes of determining justice between nations! Such a glory, unlike the earthly fame of battles, shall be immortal as the stars, dropping perpetual light upon the souls of men!

PRACTICE OF NATIONS NO RULE OF DUTY.

2. Another prejudice in favor of war is founded on *the practice of nations*, past and present. There is no crime or enormity in morals, which may not find the support of human example, often on a most extended scale. But it is not to be urged in our day that we are to look for a standard of duty in the conduct of vain, mistaken, fallible man. It is not in the power of man, by any subtle alchymy, to transmute wrong into right. Because war is according to the practice of the world, it does not follow that it is right. For ages the world wor-shipped false gods; but these gods were not the less false, because all bowed before them. At this moment the larger portion of mankind are Hea-then; but Heathenism is not true. It was once the practice of nations to slaughter prisoners of war; but even the spirit of war recoils now from this bloody sacrifice. In Sparta, theft, instead of being execrated as a crime, was dignified into an art and an accomplishment, and as such admitted into the system of youthful education; and even this debasing practice, established by local feeling, is enlightened, like war, by an instance of uncon-querable firmness, which is a barbaric counterfeit of virtue. The Spartan youth, who allowed the fox concealed under his robe to eat into his heart, is an example of mistaken fortitude, not unlike that which we are asked to admire in the soldier. Other illustrations of this character crowd upon the mind; but I will not dwell upon them. We turn with disgust from Spartan cruelty and the wolves of Taygetus; from the awful cannibalism of the Feejee Islands; from the profane rites of innumerable savages; from the crushing Jugger-naut; from the Hindoo widow lighting her funeral pyre; from the Indian dancing at the stake. But had not all these, in their respective places and days, like war, the sanction of established usage?

But it is often said, "Let us not be wiser than our fathers." Rather let us try to excel our fathers in wisdom. Let us imitate what in them was good, but let us not bind ourselves, as in the chains of Fate, by their imperfect example. There are principles which are higher than human examples. Examples are to be followed when they accord with the suggestions of duty. But he is unwise

and wicked, who attempts to lean upon these, rather than upon those truths, which, like the Everlasting Arm, cannot fail!

In all modesty be it said, we have lived to little purpose, if we are not wiser than the generations that have gone before us. It is the grand distinction of man that he is a progressive being; that his reason at the present day is not merely the reason of a single human being, but that of the whole human race, in all ages from which knowledge has descended, in all lands from which it has been borne away. We are the heirs to an inheritance of knowledge, which has been accumulating from generation to generation. The child is now taught at his mother's knee the orbits of the heavenly bodies,

> Where worlds on worlds compose one Universe;

the nature of this globe; the character of the tribes of men by which it is covered, and the geography of nations, all of which were far beyond the ken of the most learned of other days. It is, therefore, true, as has been said, that antiquity is the real infancy of man; it is then that he is immature, ignorant, wayward, childish, selfish, finding his chief happiness in pleasures of sense, all unconscious of the higher delights of knowledge and of love. The animal part of his nature reigns over his soul, and he is driven on by the gross impulses of force. He seeks contests, war and blood. But we are advanced from the childhood of man; reason and the kindlier virtues of age, repudiating and abhorring force, now bear sway. We are the true Ancients. The single lock on the battered forehead of Old Time is thinner now than when our fathers attempted to grasp it; the hour-glass has been turned often since; the scythe is heavier laden with the work of death.

Let us cease, then, to look for a lamp to our feet, in the feeble tapers that glimmer in the sepulchres of the Past. Rather let us hail those ever-burning lights above, in whose beams is the brightness of noon-day!

RELATIONS OF THE CHURCH TO WAR.

3. There is a topic to which I allude with diffidence; but in the spirit of frankness. It is the influence which war, though condemned by Christ, has derived from the *Christian Church.* When Constantine on one of his marches, at the head of his army, beheld the luminous trophy of the cross in the sky right above the meridian sun, inscribed with these words, *By this conquer*, had his soul been penetrated by the true spirit of Him, whose precious symbol it was, he would have found in it no inspiration to the spear and the sword. He would have received the lesson of self-sacrifice, as from the lips of the Saviour, and would have learned that it was not by earthly weapons that any true victory was to be won. The pride of conquest would have been rebuked, and the bauble sceptre of Empire would have fallen from his hands. *By this conquer;* that is, by patience, suffering, forgiveness of evil, by all those virtues of which the cross is the affecting token, *conquer;* and the victory shall be greater than any in the annals of Roman conquest; it may not find a place in the records of man; but it shall appear in the register of everlasting life.

The Christian Church, after the first centuries of its existence, failed to discern the peculiar spiritual beauty of the faith which it professed. Like Constantine, it found new incentives to war in the religion of Peace; and such has been its character, let it be said fearlessly, even to our own day. The Pope of Rome, the asserted head of the church, the Vicegerent of Christ on earth whose seal is a fisherman, on whose banner is a Lamb before the Holy Cross, assumed the command of armies, often mingling the thunders of battle with those of the Vatican. The dagger which projected from the sacred vestments of the Archbishop de Retz, as he appeared in the streets of Paris, was called by the people, "the Archbishop's Prayer Book." We read of mitred prelates in armor of proof, and seem still to catch the jingle of the golden spurs of the bishops in the streets of Cologne. The sword of knighthood was consecrated by the church; and priests were often the expert masters in military exercises. I have seen at the gates of the Papal Palace in Rome, a constant guard of Swiss soldiers; I have seen, too, in our own streets a show, as incongruous and as inconsistent, a pastor of a Christian church parading as the chaplain of a military array! Ay! more than this; some of us have heard, within a few short weeks, in a Christian pulpit, from the lips of an eminent Christian divine, a sermon in which we are encouraged to *serve the God of Battles, and, as citizen soldiers, to fight for Peace;* a sentiment which can find no support in the Religion of Him who has expressly enjoined, when one cheek is smitten to turn the other, and to which we listen with pain and mortification from the lips of one, who has voluntarily become a minister of Christian truth; alas! in his mind inferior to that of the Heathen, who declared that he *preferred the unjustest peace to the justest war.*

And who is the God of Battles! It is Mars, man-slaying, blood-polluted, city-smiting Mars. Him we cannot adore. It is not He who binds the sweet influences of the Pleiades, and loosed the bands of Orion; who causes the sun to shine on the just and the unjust; who tempers the wind to the shorn lamb; who distils the oil of gladness upon every upright heart; the fountain of Mercy and Goodness, the God of Justice and Love. The God of Battles is not the God of Christians; to him can ascend none of the prayers of Christian thanksgiving; for him there can be no words of worship in Christian temples; no swelling air to them to peal the note of praise.

There is now floating in this harbor a ship* of the line of our country. Many of you have, perhaps, pressed its deck, and observed with admiration the completeness which prevails in all its parts; its lithe masts and complex net-work of ropes; its thick wooden walls, within which are more than the soldiers of Ulysses; its strong defences, and its numerous dread and rude-throated engines of war. There each Sabbath, amidst the armament of blood, while the wave comes gently plashing against the frowning sides, from a pulpit supported by a cannon, or by the side of a cannon in repose now, but ready to awake its dormant thunder, charged with death, a Christian preacher addresses the officers and crew! May his instructions carry strength and succor to their souls! I

* The Ohio, in Boston harbor.

e cannot pronounce in such a place, those highst words of the Master he professes, "Blessed re the Peace-makers;" "Love your Enemies;" Render not evil for evil." Like Macbeth's Amen," they must stick in his throat.

It cannot be doubted that this strange and unlessed conjunction of the clergy with war, has ad no little influence in blinding the world to ıe truth now beginning to be recognized, that *Christianity forbids war in all cases.*

Individual interests are mixed up with prevailıg errors, and are concerned in maintaining them) such an extent, that it is not surprising that ıilitary men yield reluctantly to this truth. They re naturally in this matter, like lawyers, accordıg to Voltaire, "the conservators of ancient bararous usages;" but that these usages should btain countenance in the Christian church is one f those anomalies, which make us feel the weakess of our nature and the elevation of Christian uth. It is important to observe, as an unanswerıle fact of history, that for some time after the postles, while the lamp of Christianity burnt ure and bright, not only the Fathers of the ıurch held it unlawful for Christians to bear ms, but those who came within its pale, abained from the use of arms, although at the cost their lives. Marcellus the Centurion threw own his military belt at the head of the legion, ıd in the face of the standards declared with a ud voice, *that he would no longer serve in the my, for he had become a Christian;* and many hers followed his example. It was not until ıristianity became corrupted, that its followers ecame soldiers, and its priests learned to minisr at the altar of the God of Battles.*

> Thee to defend the Moloch priest prefers
> The prayer of Hate, and bellows to the herd
> That Deity, accomplice Deity,
> In the fierce jealousy of waked wrath
> Will go forth with our armies and our fleets
> To scatter the red ruin on their foes!
> O blasphemy! to mingle fiendish deeds
> With blessedness! †

A motion has been brought forward in Coness, to dispense with the services of chaplains the army and navy, mainly on account of the compatibility between the principles of the Gosl and the practice of War. It is to be hoped at what God has placed so far asunder, may no nger be joined together by man. If chaplains e to be employed, it should be to preach the ligion they profess as to the Heathen, and not offer incense to the idol of war.

When will Christian ministers look for their th, not to the ideas, opinions and practices of e people by whom they are surrounded, but to e written words of the texts from which they preach? It has been said of a monarch of England, that he "read Gospel truth in Anna Boleyn's eyes." Not less hyperbolical and impossible is their discernment, who can find in the flashing bayonet any token of Peace, any illumination of Christian Love. That truly great man, the beloved Channing, whose spirit speaks to us from no sceptred urn, but from that sweet grassy bed at Mount Auburn, says: "When I think of duelling and war in the Christian world, and then of the superiority to the world, and the unbounded love and forbearance which characterize our religion, I am struck with the little progress which Christianity has as yet made."

One of the beautiful pictures, adorning the dome of a Church in Rome, by that master of art, whose immortal colors breathe as with the voice of a Poet, the Divine Raffaelle, represents Mars, in the attitude of war, with a drawn sword uplifted and ready to strike, while an unarmed Angel from behind, with gentle but irresistible force, arrests and holds the descending arm. Such is the true image of Christian duty; nor can I readily perceive the difference in principle between those ministers of the Gospel, who themselves gird on the sword, as in the olden time, and those others, who, unarmed, and in customary suit of solemn black, lend the sanction of their presence to the martial array, or to any form of preparation for war. The drummer, who pleaded that he did not fight, was held more responsible for the battle than the mere soldier; for it was the sound of his drum that inflamed the flagging courage of the troops.

INFLUENCE OF THE ARMY.

4. From the prejudices engendered by the Church, I pass to the prejudices engendered by the army itself; prejudices having their immediate origin more particularly in military life, but unfortunately diffusing themselves, in widening though less apparent circles, throughout the community. I allude directly to what is called the *point of honor*, early child of chivalry, the living representatives in our day of an age of barbarism. It is difficult to define what is so evanescent, so impalpable, so chimerical, so unreal; and yet which exercises such power over many men, and controls the relations of states. As a little water, which has fallen into the crevice of a rock, under the congelation of winter, swells till it bursts the thick and stony fibres; so a word, or a slender act, dropping into the heart of man, under the hardening influence of this pernicious sentiment, dilates till it rends in pieces the sacred depository of human affections, while Hate and the demon Strife, no longer restrained, are let loose abroad. The musing Hamlet saw the strange and unnatural power of this sentiment, when his soul pictured to his contemplations

> ——the army of such mass and charge,
> Led by a delicate and tender prince
> Exposing what is mortal and unsure
> To all that fortune, death and danger, dare
> *Even for an egg-shell;*

and when he says, with a point which has given to this sentiment its strongest and most popular expression,

> ——Rightly to be great
> Is not to stir without great argument;
> *But greatly to find quarrel in a straw*
> *When honor's at the stake.*

* This subject, so interesting to the student of history, ıd to the conscientious inquirer into the true signification the Gospel, has been treated with fullness and learning Mr. Clarkson in his *Essay on the Doctrines and Practice the Early Christians as they relate to war.* Mr. Jay, in recent address before the Peace Society, justly charges Christian Church with "awful delinquencies on the bject of war, and directs the attention of her members to duty of repentance and reformation." He sustains the rge by numerous illustrations of the conduct of the rgy, through a succession of ages, but particularly in our n day. He finds the English Episcopal Church peculiarly rehensible; and his testimony on this point is of special hority, from his known eminence as a lay member of eister Church in the United States.

† Religious Musings by Coleridge, written Christmas Eve 1794.

And when is honor at stake? This question opens again the views with which I commenced, and with which I hope to close this discourse. Honor can be only at stake where justice and happiness are at stake; it can never depend on an egg-shell, or a straw; it can never depend on an impotent word of anger or folly, not even if that word be followed by a blow. In fine, true honor is to be found in the highest moral and intellectual excellence, in the dignity of the human soul, in its nearest approach to those qualities which we reverence as the attributes of God. Our community frowns with indignation upon the profaneness of the duel, which has its rise in this irrational point of honor. But are they aware that they themselves indulge the sentiment, on a gigantic scale, when they recognize what is called the *honor* of the country, as a proper ground for war? We have already seen that justice is in no respect promoted by war. Is true honor promoted where justice is not?

WHAT IS HONOR?

But the very word honor, as used by the world, does not express any elevated sentiment. How infinitely below the sentiment of duty! It is a word of easy virtue, that has been prostituted to the most opposite characters and transactions. From the field of Pavia, where France suffered one of the greatest reverses in her annals, Francis writes to his mother: "all is lost except *honor*." At a later day, the renowned cook, the grand Vatel, in a paroxysm of grief and mortification at the failure of two dishes expected on the table, exclaimed, "I have lost my *honor*."* Montesquieu, whose writings are a constellation of epigrams, places it in direct contrast with virtue. He represents what he calls the prejudice of honor as the animating principle of monarchy, while virtue is that of a republic, saying that in well-governed monarchies almost everybody will be a good citizen, but it will be rare to meet with a really good man. By an instinct that points to the truth, we do not apply this term to the high columnar virtues which sustain and decorate life, to parental affection, to justice, to the attributes of God. We do not speak of an honorable father, an honorable mother, an honorable judge, an honorable angel. an honorable God. In such sacred connections we feel beyond the force of any argument, the vulgar and debasing character of the sentiment to which it refers.

* Disappointed by the failure of the purveyors to arrive with the turbots for an entertainment in proper season, he withdrew to his chamber, where he placed his sword against the door, and stabbed himself to the heart, but it was not until the third blow, after giving himself two not mortal, that he fell dead. "The fish now arrives from all quarters, they seek Vatel to distribute it; they go to his room, they knock, they force open the door; he is found bathed in blood. They hasten to tell the Prince, [the *great* Condé] who is in despair; the Duke wept; it was on Vatel that his journey from Burgundy hinged. The Prince related what had passed to the King, with marks of the deepest sorrow. *It was attributed to the high sense of honor which he had after his own way* (on dit que c'étoit a force d'avoir de l'honneur à sa manière.) He was highly commended: his courage was praised and blamed at the same time." The Epistle Dedicatory prefixed to the concluding volume of the *Almanac des Gourmands*, addressing the shade of Vatel, says; "So noble a death secures you, venerable shade, the most glorious immortality! You have proved that *the fanaticism of honor* can exist in the kitchen as well as in the camp, and that the spit and saucepan have also their Catos and their Deciuses."

The degrading rule of honor is founded in the supposed necessity of resenting by force, a supposed injury, whether by word or act. But suppose such an injury is received, sullying, as is falsely imagined, the character; is it wiped away by a resort to force, by descending to the brutal level of its author? "Could I have wiped your blood from my conscience as easily as I can this insult from my face," said a Marshal of France, greater on this occasion than on any field of fame, "I would have laid you dead at my feet." It is Plato, reporting the angelic wisdom of Socrates, who declares in one of those beautiful dialogues, which shine with stellar light across the ages, that *it is more shameful to do a wrong than to receive a wrong*.* And this benign sentiment commends itself, alike to the Christian, who is told to render good for evil, and to the universal heart of man. But who that confesses its truth, can vindicate a resort to force, for the sake of honor? Better far to receive the blow that a false morality has thought degrading, than that it should be revenged by force. Better that a nation should submit to what is wrong, rather than vainly seek to maintain its honor by the great crime of war.

THE AGE OF PERICLES AND THE AGE OF CHIVALRY.

It seems that in ancient Athens, as in unchristianized Christian lands, there were sophists, who urged that *to suffer* was unbecoming a man, and would draw down upon him incalculable evils. The following passage will show the manner in which the moral cowardice of these persons of little faith was rebuked by him whom the gods pronounced wisest of men: "These things being so, let us inquire what it is you reproach me with; whether it is well said, or not, that I, forsooth, am not able to assist either myself, or any of my friends or my relations, or to save them from the greatest dangers, but that, like the outlaws, I am at the mercy of any one who may choose to smite me on the temple—and this was the strong point in your argument—or to take away my property, or to drive me out of the city, or (to take the extreme case) to kill me; now, according to your argument, to be so situated is the most shameful thing of all. But my view is—a view many times expressed already, but there is no objection to its being stated again:—*my view, I say, is, O Callicles, that to be struck unjustly on the temple is not most shameful, nor to have my body mutilated, nor my purse cut; but to strike me and mine unjustly, and to mutilate me and to cut my purse is more shameful and worse; and stealing too, and enslaving, and house-breaking, and, in general, doing any wrong whatever to me and mine is more shameful and worse for him who does the wrong, than for me who suffer it.* These things thus established in the former arguments, as I maintain, are secured and bound, even if the expression be somewhat too rustical, with iron and adamantine arguments, and unless you, or some one more vigorous than you, can break them, it is impossible for any one, speaking otherwise than I now speak, to speak well: since for my part, *I always have the same thing to say, that I know*

* This proposition is enforced by Socrates with admirable and unanswerable reasoning and illustration, throughout the whole of the Gorgias.

t how these things are, but that of all whom I have r discoursed with as now, not one is able to say erwise without being ridiculous." Such is the isdom of Socrates.

But the modern point of honor does not find a aee in warlike antiquity. Themistocles at Sala- is did not send a cartel to the Spartan com- ander, when threatened by a blow. "Strike, but ar," was the response of that firm nature, which t that true honor was to be gained only in the rformance of duty. It was in the depths of odern barbarism, in the age of chivalry, that this ntiment shot up in the wildest and most exu- rant fancies; not a step was taken without ference to it; no act was done which had not me point tending to the "bewitching duel," and ery stage in the combat, from the ceremonies of beginning to its deadly close, were measured this fantastic law.* The Chevalier Bayard, the nosure of chivalry, the knight without fear and ithout reproach, in a contest with the Spaniard on Alonzo de Soto Mayor, by a feint struck him ch a blow in the throat, that, despite the gorget, e weapon penetrated four fingers deep. The ounded Spaniard grasped his adversary, and, uggling with him, they both rolled on the ground, hen Bayard, drawing his dagger, and thrusting point in the nostrils of the Spaniard, exclaimed, enor Alonzo, surrender, or you are a dead man!" speech which appeared superfluous, as Don ego de Guignones, his second, exclaimed, "Se- r Bayard, he is dead; you have conquered." yard, says the chronicler, would have given one ndred thousand crowns to spare his life; but now fell upon his knees, kissed the ground three nes, and then dragged his dead enemy out of e camp, saying to the second of his fallen foe, enor Don Diego, have I done enough?" To hich the other piteously replied, "too much, Se- r, for the *honor* of Spain!" when Bayard very nerously presented him with the corpse, although was his right, by the laws of *honor*, to do what- er he thought proper with it; an act which is ghly commended by Brantome, who thinks it ficult to say which did him most *honor*—not hav- ignominiously dragged the body like the car- ss of a dog by a leg out of the field, or having ndescended to fight while laboring under an ue!

If such a transaction conferred honor on the ghtest son of chivalry, we may understand erefrom something of the real character of that e, the departure of which has been lamented th such touching but inappropriate eloquence. not condescend to draw a great rule of conduct m such a period. Let the point of honor stay th the daggers, the swords and the weapons of mbat by which it was guarded; let it appear y with its inseparable companions, the bowie- fe, and the pistol!

Be ours the standard of conduct derived, not m the degradation of our nature, though it affects semblance of sensibility and refinement, but ing its sources in the loftiest attributes of man, ruth, in justice, in duty; and may this standard, ich governs our relations to each other, be recog- ed among the nations! When shall we behold dawning of that happy day, harbinger of infinite happiness beyond, in which nations shall feel that it is better to receive a wrong than to do a wrong.

Apply this principle to our relations with England at this moment. Suppose that proud monarchy, refusing all submission to negotiation or arbitration, should absorb the whole Territory of Oregon into her own overgrown dominions, and add, at the mouth of the Columbia River, a new morning drum-beat to the national airs with which she has encircled the earth; who, then, is in the attitude of the truest honor, England, who has appropriated, by an unjust act, what is not her own, or the United States, the victim of the injustice?†

TRUE AND FALSE PATRIOTISM.

5. There is still another influence which stimulates war, and interferes with the natural attractions of Peace; I refer to a selfish and exaggerated *love of country*, leading to its physical aggrandizement, and the strengthening of its institutions at the expense of other countries. Our minds, nursed by the literature of antiquity, have imbibed the narrow sentiment of heathen patriotism. Exclusive love for the land of birth was a part of the religion of Greece and Rome. It is an indication of the lowness of their moral nature, that this sentiment was so exclusive, and so material in its character. The Oracle directed the returning Roman to kiss his mother, and he kissed the Mother Earth. Agamemnon, on regaining his home after a perilous separation of more than ten years at the siege of Troy, before addressing his family, his friends, his countrymen, first salutes Argos:

> By your leave, Lords, first Argos I salute.

The school-boy cannot forget the cry of the victim of Verres, which was to stay the descending fasces of the lictor, "I am a Roman citizen;" nor those other words sounding in the dark Past, "How sweet it is to die for one's country!" The Christian cry did not rise, "I am a man;" the Christian ejaculation did not swell the soul, "How sweet it is to die for duty!" The beautiful genius of Cicero, at times instinct with truth almost divine, did not ascend to that highest heaven, where is taught, that all mankind are neighbors and kindred, and that the relations of fellow-countryman are less holy than those of fellow-man. To the love of universal man may be applied those words by which the great Roman elevated his selfish patriotism to a virtue, when he said that *country alone embraced all the charities of all.* Attach this admired phrase for a moment to the single idea of country, and you will see how contracted are its charities compared with the world-wide circle of Christian love, whose neighbor is the suffering man, though at the farthest pole. Such a sentiment would dry up those fountains of benevolence which now diffuse themselves in precious waters in distant unenlightened lands, bearing the blessings of truth to the icy mountains of Greenland, and the coral islands of the Pacific sea.

It has been a part of the policy of rulers, to

* Nobody can forget the humorous picture of the progress quarrel to a duel, through the seven degrees of Touch- e in *As You Like it.* Act 5, Scene 4.

† If this view needs any confirmation in the minds of just and reasonable men, having a true regard for the happiness and real greatness of their country, it may be found in the clear and weighty reasoning of President Wayland on War, in his *Elements of Morals*, which is in entire harmony with the great truths sustained throughout this Oration.

encourage this exclusive patriotism; and the people of modern times have each inherited the feeling of Antiquity. I do not know that any one nation is in a condition to reproach the other with this patriotic selfishness. All are selfish. Among us the sentiment has become active, while it has derived new force from the point with which it has been expressed. An officer of our navy, one of the so called heroes nurtured by war, whose name has been praised in churches, has gone beyond all Greek, all Roman example. "Our country, *be she right or wrong*," was his exclamation; a sentiment dethroning God and enthroning the devil, whose flagitious character should be rebuked by every honest heart.* "Our country, our whole country, and *nothing but our country*," are other words which have often been painted on banners, and echoed by the voices of innumerable multitudes. Cold and dreary, narrow and selfish, would be this life, if *nothing but our country* occupied our souls; if the thoughts that wander through eternity, if the infinite affections of our nature, were restrained to that spot of earth where we have been placed by the accident of birth.

I do not inculcate an indifference to country. We incline, by a natural sentiment, to the spot where we were born, to the fields which witnessed the sports of childhood, to the seat of youthful studies, and to the institutions under which we have been trained. The finger of God writes in indelible colors all these things upon the heart of man, so that, in the dread extremities of death, he reverts in fondness to early associations, and longs for a draught of cold water from the bucket in his father's well. This sentiment is independent of reflection, for it begins before reflection, grows with our growth, and strengthens with our strength. It is blind in its nature; and it is the duty of each of us to take care that it does not absorb the whole character. In the moral night which has enveloped the world, each nation, thus far, has lived ignorant and careless, to much extent, of the interests of others, which it imperfectly saw; but this thick darkness has now been scattered, and we begin to discern, all gilded by the beams of morning, the distant mountain-peaks of other lands. We find that God has not placed us on this earth alone; that there are other nations, equally with us, children of his protecting care.

The curious spirit goes further, and while it recognizes an inborn sentiment of attachment to the place of birth, inquires into the nature of the allegiance which is due to the State. The old idea, still too much received, is, that man is made for the State, and not the State for man. Far otherwise is the truth. The State is an artificial body, intended for the security of the people. How constantly do we find, in human history, that the people have been sacrificed for the State; to build the Roman name, to secure to England the trident of the sea. This is to sacrifice the greater for the less; for the fleeting possessions of earth to barter the immortal soul. Let it be remembered that the State is not worth preserving at the cost of the lives and happiness of the people.

It is not that I love country less, but Humanity more, that now, on this National Anniversary, I plead the cause of a higher and truer patriotism. Remember that you are men, by a more sacred bond than you are citizens; that you are children of a common Father more than you are Americans.

Viewing, then, the different people on the globe, as all deriving their blood from a common source, and separated only by the accident of mountains, rivers and seas, into those distinctions around which cluster the associations of country, we must regard all the children of the earth as members of the great human family. Discord in this family is treason to God; while all war is nothing else than *civil* war. It will be in vain that we restrain this odious term, importing so much of horror, to the petty dissensions of a single State. It belongs as justly to the feuds between nations. The soul stands aghast, as we contemplate fields drenched in fraternal gore, where the happiness of homes has been shivered by the unfriendly arms of neighbors, and where kinsmen have sunk beneath the cold steel that was nerved by a kinsman's hand. This is civil war, which stands for ever accursed in the calendar of time. But the Muse of History, in the faithful record of the future transactions of nations, inspired by a new and loftier justice, and touched to finer sensibilities, shall extend to the general sorrows of Universal Man the sympathy which has been profusely shed for the selfish sorrow of country, and shall pronounce *all war to be civil war, and the partakers in it as traitors to God and enemies to man.*

COST OF WAR.

6. I might here pause, feeling that those of my hearers who have kindly accompanied me to this stage would be ready to join the condemnation of war, and hail peace as the only condition becoming the dignity of human nature, and in which true greatness can be achieved. But there is still one more consideration, which yields to none of the others in importance; perhaps it is more important than all. It is at once cause and effect, the cause of much of the feeling in favor of war, and the effect of this feeling. I refer to the costly *preparations* of war in time of peace.

I do not propose to dwell upon the immense cost of war itself. That will be present to the minds of all, in the mountainous accumulation of debt, piled like Ossa upon Pelion, with which Europe is pressed to the earth. According to the most recent tables to which I have had access, the public debt of the different European States, so far as it is known, amounts to the terrific sum of $6,387,000,000, all of this the growth of War! It is said that there are throughout these states 17,900,000 paupers, or persons subsisting at the expense of the country, without contributing to its resources. If these millions of the public debt, forming only a part of what has been wasted by war, could be apportioned among these poor, it would give to each of them $375, a sum which would place all above want, and which is about equal to the average value of the property of each inhabitant of Massachusetts.

The public debt of Great Britain amounted in 1839 to $4,265,000,000, all of this the growth of War since 1688! This amount is about equal to the sum total, according to the calculations of Humboldt, of all the treasures which have been reaped

* Unlike this is what has been said of the virtuous Andrew Fletcher, in the days of the English Revolution of 1688, who "would lose his life to *serve* his country, but would not do a base thing to *save* it." Mackintosh, Eth. Philosophy.

n the harvest of gold and silver in the mines Spanish America, including Mexico and Peru, ce the first discovery of our hemisphere by ristopher Columbus! It is much larger than amount of all the precious metals, which at s moment form the circulating medium of the rld! It is said rashly by some persons, who ve given little attention to this subject, that all s expenditure was good for the people; but se persons do not bear in mind that it was not stowed on any *useful* object. It was wasted. e aggregate capital of all the joint stock comnies in England, of which there was any known ord in 1842, embracing canals, docks, bridges, inance companies, banks, gas-lights, water, mines, tways, and other miscellaneous objects, was out $835,000,000; a sum which has been devoted the welfare of the people, but how much less in ount than the War Debt! For the six years ling in 1836, the average payment for the inet on this debt was about $140,000,000 annually. we add to this sum, $60,000,000 during this same riod paid annually to the army, navy and ordnce, we shall have $200,000,000 as the annual of the English people, to pay for former wars l to prepare for new. During this same period re was an annual appropriation of only ,000,000 for all the civil purposes of the Governnt. It thus appears that *War* absorbed ninety ts of every dollar, that was pressed by heavy ation from the English people, who almost m to sweat blood! What fabulous monster, or mera dire, ever raged with a maw so ravenous! e remaining ten cents sufficed to maintain the endor of the throne, the administration of jus, and the diplomatic relations with foreign vers, in short all the proper objects of a Chris State.*

PREPARATIONS FOR WAR.

Let us now look exclusively at the *preparations war in time of peace.* It is one of the miseries war that, even in peace, its evils continue to be by the world, beyond any other evils by which r suffering humanity is oppressed If Bellona hdraws from the field, we only lose the sight her flaming torches; the bay of her dogs is rd on the mountains, and civilized man thinks ind protection from their sudden fury, only by losing himself in the defences of war. At moment the Christian nations, worshipping a bol of common brotherhood, live as in enched camps, in which they keep armed watch, revent surprise from each other.

t is difficult, if not impossible, to arrive at any ct estimate of the cost of these preparations, ging under four different heads; the standing y; the navy; the fortifications and ordnance; the militia or irregular troops.

STANDING ARMIES.

The number of soldiers now keeping the peace European Christendom, as a *standing army*, hout counting the Navy, is upwards of two lions. Some estimates place it as high as three millions.† The army of Great Britain exceeds 300,000 men; that of France 350,000; that of Russia 730,000, and is reckoned by some as high as 1,000,000; that of Austria about 275,000; that of Prussia 150,000. Taking the smaller number, suppose these two millions to require for their annual support an average sum of only $150 each, the result would be $300,000,000, for their sustenance alone; and reckoning one officer to ten soldiers, and allowing to each of the latter an English shilling a day, or $87 a year, for wages, and to the former an average salary of $500 a year, we should have for the pay of the whole no less than $256,000,000, or an appalling sum total for both sustenance and pay of $556,000,000. If the same calculation be made, supposing the forces to amount to three millions, the sum total will be $835,000,000! But to this enormous sum another still more enormous must be added on account of the loss sustained by the withdrawal of two millions of hardy, healthy men, in the bloom of life, from useful, productive labor. It has been supposed that it costs an average of $500 to rear a soldier; and that the value of his labor if devoted to useful objects would be $150 a year. The Christian Powers, therefore, in setting apart two millions of men, as soldiers, sustain a loss of $1,000,000,000 on account of their training; and $300,000,000 annually, on account of their labor. So much for the cost of the standing army of European Christendom in time of Peace.

NAVIES.

Glance now at the *Navy* of European Christendom. The Royal Navy of Great Britain consists at present of 556 ships of all classes; but deducting such as are used as convict ships, floating chapels, coal depôts, the efficient navy consists of 88 sail of the line; 109 frigates; 190 small frigates, corvettes, brigs and cutters, including packets; 65 steamers of various sizes; 3 troop-ships and yachts; in all 455 ships. Of these there were in commission in July, 1839, 190 ships, carrying in all 4,202 guns. The number of hands employed in 1839, was 34,465. The Navy of France, though not comparable in size with that of England, is of vast force. By royal ordinance of 1st January, 1837, it was fixed in time of peace at 40 ships of the line, 50 frigates, 40 steamers, and 190 smaller vessels; and the amount of crews in 1839, was 20,317 men. The Russian Navy consists of two large fleets in the Gulf of Finland and the Black Sea; but the exact amount of their force and their available resources has been a subject of dispute amongst naval men and politicians. Some idea may be formed of the size of the navy from the number of hands employed. The crews of the Baltic fleet amounted in 1837, to not less than 30,800 men; and those of the fleet in the Black Sea to 19,800, or altogether 50,600. The Austrian Navy consisted in 1837, of 8 ships of the line, 8 frigates, 4 sloops, 6 brigs, 7 schooners

* I have here relied upon McCulloch's Commercial Dicary; The Edinburgh Geography, founded on the works Malte Brun and Balbi; and the calculations of Mr. Jay *Peace and War*, p. 16, and his Address before the Peace ety, pp. 28, 29.

† I have here relied upon the Edinburgh Geography, founded on the works of Malte Brun and Balbi, which makes the standing army of the European Powers upwards of two millions. The tract on the *Waste of Property by War*, which illustrates this subject by many important statistics, makes it upward of three millions. The annual expense of supporting a soldier differs in different countries. In Austria it is about $130; in France $146; in Prussia nearly $200; and in England still greater.

or galleys, and a number of smaller vessels; the number of men in its service in 1839, was 4,547. The Navy of Denmark consisted at the close of 1837 of 7 ships of the line, 7 frigates, 5 sloops, 6 brigs, 3 schooners, 5 cutters, 58 gun-boats, 6 gun-rafts, and 3 bomb vessels, requiring about 6,500 men to man them. The Navy of Sweden and Norway consisted recently of 238 gun-boats, 11 ships of the line, 8 frigates, 4 corvettes, 6 brigs, with several smaller vessels. The Navy of Greece consists of 32 ships of war, carrying 190 guns, and 2,400 men. The Navy of Holland in 1839 consisted of 8 ships of the line, 21 frigates, 15 corvettes, 21 brigs, and 95 gun-boats.* It is impossible to give any accurate idea of the immense cost of all these mighty preparations for war. It is melancholy to contemplate such gigantic means, applied by European Christendom to the erection of these superfluous wooden walls in time of Peace!

FORTIFICATIONS.

In the *fortifications and arsenals* of Europe, crowning every height, commanding every valley, and frowning over every plain and every sea, wealth has been sunk which is beyond calculation. Who can tell the immense sums that have been expended in hollowing out, for the purposes of defence, the living rock of Gibraltar? Who can calculate the cost of all the preparations at Woolwich, its 27,000 cannons, and its hundreds of thousands of small arms? France alone contains upwards of one hundred and twenty fortified places. And it is supposed that the yet unfinished fortifications of Paris have cost upwards of *fifty millions of dollars!*

The cost of the *militia* or irregular troops, the Yeomanry of England, the National Guards of Paris, and the *Landwehr* and *Landsturm* of Prussia, must add other incalculable sums to these enormous amounts.

OUR OWN COUNTRY.

Turn now to the *United States*, separated by a broad ocean from immediate contact with the great powers of Christendom, bound by treaties of amity and commerce with all the nations of the earth; connected with all by the strong ties of mutual interest; and professing a devotion to the principles of Peace. Are the Treaties of Amity mere words? Are the relations of commerce and mutual interest mere things of a day? Are the professions of Peace vain? Else why not repose in quiet, unvexed by preparations of war?

Enormous as are the expenses of this character in Europe, those in our country are still greater in proportion to the other expenditures of the Federal Government.

It appears that the average expenditures of the Federal Government for the six years ending with 1840, exclusive of payments on account of debt, were $26,474,892; of this sum, the average appropriation each year for military and naval purposes amounted to $21,328,903, being eighty per cent. of the whole amount! Yes; of all the income which was received by the Federal Government, eighty cents in every dollar was applied in this useless way. The remaining twenty cents suffic to maintain the Government, the administrati of justice, our relations with foreign nations, t light-houses which shed their cheerful signals o the rough waves which beat upon our long a indented coast, from the Bay of Fundy to t mouth of the Mississippi. Let us observe t relative expenditures of the United States, in t scale of the nations, for military preparations, time of Peace, exclusive of payments on acco of the debts. These expenditures are in prop tion to the whole expenditure of Government:

In Austria, as 33 per cent.,
In France, as 38 per cent.,
In Prussia, as 44 per cent.,
In Great Britain, as 74 per cent.,
In the United States, as 80 per cent!†

To these superfluous expenditures of the Fede Government, are to be added the still larger a equally superfluous expenses of the mili throughout the country, which have been plac at $50,000,000 a year!‡

OUR PUBLIC DEBT.

By a table§ of the expenditures of the Uni States, exclusive of payments on account of Public Debt, it appears, that, in the fifty-th years from the formation of our present Gove ment, in 1789 down to 1843, there have be $246,620,055 spent for civil purposes, comp hending the expenses of the executive, the legi tive, the judiciary, the post-office, light-houses, intercourse with foreign governments. Dur this same period there have been $368,526, devoted to the military establishment, and $1' 437,684 to the naval establishment; the t forming an aggregate of $538,964,278. Deduct from this sum the appropriations during th years of war, and we shall find that more th *four hundred millions* were absorbed by vain p parations in time of peace for war. Add to amount a moderate sum for the expenses of militia during the same period, which a can and able writer places at present at $50,000, a year; for the past years we may take average of $25,000,000, and we shall have enormous sum of $1,335,000,000 to be added the $400,000,000; the whole amounting to *sev teen hundred and thirty-five millions* of dollars sum beyond the conception of human facult sunk under the sanction of the Government of United States in mere *peaceful preparations war;* more than *seven times* as much as was de cated by the Government during the same per to all other purposes whatsoever.

EXPENSES OF WAR AND EDUCATION CO PARED.

From this serried array of figures the m instinctively retreats. If we examine them fr a nearer point of view, and, selecting some p ticular part, compare it with the figures repres

* I have drawn these details from the Edinburgh Geography; and from McCulloch's Dictionary of Geography.

† I have verified these results by the tables of expe tures of these different nations, but I do little more follow Mr. Jay, who has illustrated this important p with his accustomed accuracy. *Address*, p. 30.

‡ Jay's Peace and War, p. 13.

§ American Almanac for 1845, p. 143.

ther interests in the community, they will nt a front still more dread.

thin a short distance of this city* stands an ution of learning, which was one of the ear- cares of the early forefathers of the country, nscientious Puritans. Favored child of an f trial and struggle, carefully nursed through riod of hardship and anxiety, endowed at ine by the oblations of men like Harvard, ned from its first foundation by the paternal of the Commonwealth, by a constant succes- of munificent bequests, and by the prayers l good men, the University at Cambridge invites our homage as the most ancient, the interesting, and the most important seat of ing in the land; possessing the oldest and valuable library, one of the largest museums ineralogy and natural history,—a School of which annually receives into its bosom more one hundred and fifty sons from all parts of nion, where they listen to instruction from ssors whose names have become among the valuable possessions of the land—a School vinity, the nurse of true learning and piety of the largest and most flourishing Schools dicine in the country—besides these, a gene- ody of teachers, twenty-seven in number, of whose names help to keep the name of untry respectable in every part of the globe, e science, learning and taste are cherished— hole, presided over at this moment by a man, early distinguished in public life by nconquerable energies and his masculine elo- e, at a later period, by the unsurpassed with which he administered the affairs r city, now in a green old age, full of years nonors, preparing to lay down his present trust.† Such is Harvard University; and as f the humblest of her children, happy in the ection of a youth nurtured in her classic ts, I cannot allude to her without an expres- f filial affection and respect.

ppears from the last Report of the Treasurer, e whole available property of the University, rious accumulations of more than two cen- of generosity, amounts to $703,175.

ere now swings idly at her moorings, in this r, a ship of the line, the Ohio, carrying ninety finished as late as 1836 for $547,888; re- l only two years afterwards in 1838, for 012; with an armament which has cost 15; making an amount of $834,845,‡ as the cost at this moment of that single ship; than $100,000 beyond all the available accu- ions of the richest and most ancient seat of ng in the land! Choose ye, my fellow citi- of a Christian state, between the two caskets t wherein is the loveliness of knowledge and or that which contains the carrion death.

us pursue the comparison still further. The nt of the expenditures of the University g the last year, for the general purposes of ollege, the instruction of the Undergraduates, or the Schools of Law and Divinity, amounts 3,949. The cost of the Ohio for one year in e, in salaries, wages and provisions, is $220,000; being $175,000 more than the annual expenditures of the University; more than *four times* as much. In other words, for the annual sum which is lavished on one ship of the line, *four* Institutions, like Harvard University, might be sustained throughout the country!

Still further let us pursue the comparison. The pay of the Captain of a ship like the Ohio, is $4,500, when in service; $3,500, when on leave of absence, or off duty. The salary of the President of the Harvard University is $2,205; without leave of absence, and never being off duty!

If the large endowments of Harvard University are dwarfed by a comparison with the expense of a single ship of the line, how much more must it be so with those of other institutions of learning and beneficence, less favored by the bounty of many generations. The average cost of a sloop of war is $315,000; more probably, than all the endowments of those twin stars of learning in the Western part of Massachusetts, the Colleges at Williamstown and Amherst, and of that single star in the East, the guide to many ingenuous youth, the Seminary at Andover. The yearly cost of a sloop of war in service is above $50,000; more than the annual expenditures of these three Institutions combined.

I might press the comparison with other Institutions of beneficence, with the annual expenditures for the Blind—that noble and successful charity, which has shed true lustre upon our Commonwealth—amounting to $12,000; and the annual expenditures for the Insane of the Commonwealth, another charity dear to humanity, amounting to $27,844.

Take all the Institutions of learning and beneficence, the precious jewels of the Commonwealth, the schools, colleges, hospitals and asylums, and the sums by which they have been purchased and preserved are trivial and beggarly, compared with the treasures squandered within the borders of Massachusetts in vain preparations for war. There is the Navy Yard at Charlestown, with its stores on hand, all costing $4,741,000; the fortifications in the harbors of Massachusetts, in which have been sunk already incalculable sums, and in which it is now proposed to sink $3,853,000 more;§ and besides, the Arsenal at Springfield, containing in 1842, 175,118 muskets, valued at $2,999,998, and which is fed by an annual appropriation of about $200,000; but whose highest value will ever be, in the judgment of all lovers of truth, that it inspired a poem, which in its influence shall be mightier than a battle, and shall endure when arsenals and fortifications have crumbled to the earth.‖

Look for one moment at a high and peculiar interest of the nation, the administration of jus-

ston. † Hon. Josiah Quincy.

cument No. 132, House of Representatives, 3d session, ongress. Reference is here made to the Ohio, because ppens to be in our waters. The expense of the Dela- n 1842 had been $1,051,000.

§ Document; Report of Secretary of War; No. 2. Senate, 27th Congress, 2d session; where it is proposed to invest in a system of land defences $51,677,929.

‖ From Mr. Longfellow's "Arsenal at Springfield" I extract two stanzas, which, in poetical expression, are the least attractive of any in the poem, but which commend themselves by their intrinsic truth and moral force:

Were half the power that fills the world with terror,
Were half the wealth, bestowed on camp and courts,
Given to redeem the human mind from error,
There were no need of arsenals and forts.

The warrior's name would be a name abhorred!
And every nation that should lift again
Its hand against its brother, on its forehead
Would wear for evermore the curse of Cain!

tice. Perhaps no part of our system is regarded with more pride and confidence by the enlightened sense of the country. To this, indeed, all the other concerns of Government, all its complications of machinery, are in a manner subordinate, since it is for the sake of justice that men come together in states and establish laws. What part of the Government can compare in importance, with the Federal Judiciary, that great balance wheel of the Constitution, controlling the relations of the States to each other, the legislation of Congress and of the States, besides private interests to an incalculable amount? Nor can the citizen, who discerns the true glory of his country, fail to recognize in the judicial labors of MARSHALL, now departed. and in the immortal judgments of STORY, who is still spared to us,—*serus in cœlum redeat*—a higher claim to admiration and gratitude than can be found in any triumph of battle. The expenses of the administration of Justice, throughout the United States, under the Federal Government, in 1842, embracing the salaries of the judges, the eost of juries, court-houses and all officers thereof, in short all the outlay by which Justice, according to the requirements of Magna Charta, is carried to every man's door, amounted to $560,990, a larger sum than is usually appropriated for this purpose, but how insignificant compared with the demands of the army and navy!

Let me allude to one more *curiosity* of waste. It appears, by a calculation founded on the expenses of the Navy, that the average cost of each gun, carried over the ocean, for one year, amounts to about fifteen thousand dollars;* a sum sufficient to sustain ten professors of Colleges, and equal to the salaries of all the Judges of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts and the Governor combined!

Such are a few brief illustrations of the tax which the nations of the world, and particularly our own country, impose on the people, in time of profound peace, for no purpose of good, but only in obedience to the spirit of war. As we wearily climb, in this survey, from expenditure to expenditure, from waste to waste, we seem to pass beyond the region of ordinary calculation; Alps on Alps arise, on whose crowning heights of everlasting ice, far above the habitations of man, where no green thing lives, where no creature draws its breath, we behold the cold, sharp, flashing glacier of War.

In the contemplation of this spectacle the soul swells with alternate despair and hope; with despair, at the thought of such wealth, capable of rendering such service to humanity, not merely wasted but given to perpetuate hate; with hope, as the blessed vision arises of the devotion of all these incalculable means to the purposes of peace. The whole world labors at this moment with poverty and distress; and the painful question occurs to every observer, in Europe as well as at home,—what shall become of the poor,—the increasing standing army of the poor. Could the humble voice that now addresses you, penetrate those distant counsels, or counsels nearer home, it would say, disband your standing armies of soldiers; abandon your fortifications and arsenals, or dedicate them to works of beneficence, as the statue of Jupiter Capitolinus was changed to image of a Christian saint; apply your navy purposes of commerce; in fine, utterly forsake present incongruous system of *armed peace!*

That I may not seem to press to this conclus with too much haste, at least as regards our c country, I shall consider briefly, as becomes occasion, the asserted usefulness of the natic defences which it is proposed to abandon.

WHAT IS THE USE OF THE STANDING AR OF THE UNITED STATES?

It has been a principle of freedom, during m generations, to avoid a standing army; and one the complaints in the Declaration of Independe was that George III. had quartered large bo of troops in the colonies. For the first few ye after the adoption of the Federal Constitut during our weakness, before our power was sured, before our name had become respected the family of nations, under the administration Washington, a small sum was deemed ample the military establishment of the United Sta It was only when the country, at a later day, been touched by the insanity of war, that it rendered to military prejudices, and, abandoning true economy of a Republic, cultivated a milit spirit, and lavished the means, which it begrud to the purposes of Peace, in vain preparation War. It may now be said of the army of United States, as Dunning said of the prerogati of the crown, it has increased, is increasing, ought to be diminished. At this moment there more than fifty-five military posts in the coun Of what use is the detachment of the second r ment of Artillery in the quiet town of New Lon in Connecticut? Of what use is the detachm of the first regiment of Artillery in that pleas resort of fashion, Newport? No person who not lost all sensibility to the dignity of hun nature, can observe, without mortification, the cipline, the drilling, the marching, and coun marching, the putting guns to the shoulder and t dropping them to the earth, which fill the lives the poor soldiers, and prepare them to become mere inanimate parts of a mere *machine*, to wh the great living master of the art of war likened an army. And this sensibility must much more offended when he beholds a num of the ingenuous youth of the country, under auspices of the Government, amidst the bewi ing scenery of West Point, trained to these sa farcical and humiliating exercises.† It is time the people should declare the army to be utterly useless branch of the public service; not merely useless, also a seminary of idler and vice, breeding manners uncongenial with institutions, shortening the lives of those whor enlists, and maintained at an expense, as we h already seen, which far surpasses all that is stowed on all the civil purposes of the Gov ment.

But I hear the voice of some defender of abuse, some upholder of this "rotten borough" our Constitution, crying, the army is needed the defence of the country! As well might say, that the shadow is needed for the defence

* Mr. Cones' tract, *What is the use of the Navy of the United States?*

† The amount appropriated by Congress for the Institu of West Point, since its establishment, is $,002,901 15

ody; for what is the army of the United s but the feeble shadow of the power of the rican people! In placing the army on its nt footing, so small in numbers compared the forces of the great European States, our rnment has tacitly admitted its superfluous- as a means of defence. Moreover, there is plea for standing armies in Europe which ot prevail here. They are supposed to be ed by Governments which do not proceed the popular voice, to sustain their power. monarchs of the Old World, like the chiefs e ancient German tribes, are upborne by the ds of the soldiery. Happily with us the rnment springs from the hearts of the peo- and needs no janizaries for its support. It remains to declare distinctly that the country repose, in the consciousness of right, without wasteful excess of supporting soldiers, lazy mers of the fruits of the earth, who might e State good service in the various depart- s of useful industry.

T IS THE USE OF THE NAVY OF THE UNITED STATES?

e annual expense of our Navy for several past has been upwards of six millions of rs. For what purpose is this paid? Not for pprehension of pirates; for frigates and ships e line are of too great bulk to be of service is purpose. Not for the suppression of the Trade; for, under the stipulations with t Britain, we employ only eighty guns in this alliance. Not to protect our coasts; for all that our few ships would form an unavail- lefence against any serious attack. Not for purposes we will admit; *but for the protec- of our Navigation.* This is not the occasion inute calculations. Suffice it to say, that an igent merchant, who has been extensively ged in commerce for the last twenty years, who speaks, therefore, with the authority of ledge, has demonstrated in a tract of perfect ness, that the annual amount of the freights e whole mercantile marine of the country not equal the annual expenditure of the of the United States.* Protection at such is more ruinous than one of Pyrrhus' vic- s!

objecting to the Navy, I wish to limit myself e Navy as an asserted arm of national de- . So far as it may be necessary, as a part e *police* of the seas, to purge them of pirates, above all, to defeat the hateful traffic in n flesh, it is a proper arm of government. free cities of Hamburg and Bremen, survivors e great Hanseatic League, with a commerce whitens the most distant seas, are without a e ship of war. Let the United States be ng to follow their wise example, and aban- an institution which has already become a and most expensive TOY!

refer to Mr. Coues' tract, "What is the use of the of the United States?" which has already produced ng effect on many minds, the natural consequence of nanswerable arguments and statements. No person l undertake to vindicate the Navy, or sanction priations for its support, without answering this

WHAT IS THE USE OF THE FORTIFICATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES?

We have already seen the enormous sums which have been locked in the dead hands, in the odious mortmain, of their everlasting masonry. This is in the hope of saving the country thereby from the horrors of conquest and bloodshed. And here let me meet this suggestion with frankness and distinctness. I will not repeat what has been set forth in an earlier part of my remarks, the considerations showing that in our age, no war of strict *self-defence* can possibly arise, no war which can be supported by the consciences of those even who disclaim the highest standard of the gospel; but I will suppose the case of a war, unjust and unchristian it must be, between our country and one of the great powers of Europe. In such a war, what would be the effect of the fortifications? Clearly to invite the attack, which they would in all probability be inadequate to defeat. It is a rule now recognized even in the barbarous code of war, one branch of which has been illustrated with admirable ability in the diplomatic correspondence of Mr. Webster, that non-combatants shall not in any way be molested, and that the property of private persons shall in all cases be held sacred. So firmly did the Duke of Wellington act upon this rule, that throughout the murderous campaigns of Spain, and afterwards when he entered France, flushed with the victory of Waterloo, he directed that his army should pay for all provisions, and even for the forage of their horses. The war is carried on against public property,—against fortifications, navy-yards and arsenals. But if these do not exist, there can be no aliment, no fuel for the flame. Every new fortification and every additional gun in our harbor is, therefore, not a safeguard, but a source of danger to our city. Better throw them in the sea, than madly allow them to draw to our homes the lightning of battle, without, alas, any conductor to hurry its terrors innocently beneath the concealing bosom of the earth!

WHAT IS THE USE OF THE MILITIA OF THE UNITED STATES?

This immense system spreads, with more than a hundred arms, over the whole country, sucking its best life-blood, the unbought energies of the youth. The same farcical discipline, shouldering arms and carrying arms, which we have observed in the soldier, absorbs their time, though, of course, to a much less degree than in the regular army. We read with astonishment of the painted flesh, and uncouth vestments of our progenitors, the ancient Britons. The generation will soon come that will regard with equal wonder the pictures of their ancestors, closely dressed in padded and well-buttoned coats of blue, "besmeared with gold," surmounted by a huge mountain-cap of shaggy bear-skin, and with a barbarous device, typical of brute force, a tiger, painted on oil-skin, tied with leather to their backs! In the streets of Pisa, the galley-slaves are compelled to wear dresses stamped with the name of the crime for which they are suffering punishment; as theft, robbery, murder. It is not a little strange, that

Christians, living in a land "where bells have tolled to church," should voluntarily adopt devices, which, if they have any meaning, recognize the example of beasts as worthy of imitation by man.* The general considerations which belong to the subject of preparations for war will illustrate the inanity of the militia for the purposes of national defence. I do not know, indeed, that it is now strongly advocated on this ground. It is most often spoken of as an important part of the *police* of the country. I would not undervalue the blessings to be derived from an active, efficient, ever-wakeful police; and I believe that such a police has been long required in our country. But the militia, composed of youth of undoubted character, though of untried courage, is clearly inadequate for this purpose. No person, who has seen them in an actual riot, can hesitate in this judgment.† A very small portion of the means which are absorbed by the militia, would provide a police that should be competent to all the emergences of domestic disorder and violence.

The City of Boston has long been convinced of the inexpediency of a Fire Department composed of mere volunteers. It is to be hoped that a simi-

* It is a curious illustration of the low standard of conduct to which men and nations have appealed, that they have chosen emblems and armorial bearings from beasts and birds of prey. The lion is rampant on the flag of England; the leopard on that of Scotland; a double-headed eagle spreads its wings on the imperial standard of Austria. After exhausting the known kingdom of nature, the pennons of knights, like the knapsacks of our militia, were disfigured by imaginary and impossible monsters, griffins, hippogriffs, unicorns, all intended to represent the excess of brute force. Froissart records as a miracle, that a dove once rested in its flight on the royal banner of France. The people of Massachusetts have unconsciously adopted the same degrading standard. In the escutcheon which is used as the seal of the State, there is a most unfortunate combination of disagreeable and unworthy suggestions. On that part which, in the language of heraldry, is termed the *shield*, is placed an Indian, with a bow in his hand; certainly no agreeable memento, except to those who find *honor* in the disgraceful wars in which our fathers robbed and murdered King Philip, of Pokanoket, and his tribe, the rightful possessors of the soil. The *crest* is a raised arm, holding, in a threatening attitude, a drawn sabre; being precisely the emblem which is borne on the flag of Algiers! The *scroll*, or legend, consists of the last of those two lines, in bad Latin, from an unknown source, which we first encounter, as they were inscribed by Algernon Sydney, in the Album at the University of Copenhagen, in Denmark:

Manus hæc inimica tyrannis,
Ense petit placidam sub libertate quietem.

The Legislature of Massachusetts has adopted, with singular unanimity, resolutions expressing its earnest desire for the establishment of a General Convention, or Congress of Nations, to adjudge questions between nations, and thus supersede the imagined necessity of war. Would it not be an act of moral dignity, becoming the character which it vaunts before the world, to adopt a new seal; at least to erase that *Algerine* emblem, fit only for Corsairs, and those words of *barbarous Latin*, which can awaken only the idea of ignorance and brute force. If a Latin motto be needed, it might be those words of Virgil, "*Pacisque* imponere morem;" or that sentence of noble truth from Cicero, "Sine SUMMA JUSTITIA rempublicam geri nullo modo posse." De Republ. Lib. II. Cap. 44.

† The riot in Broad Street, in Boston, in 1837, is often invoked by the devotees of the militia (for it has devotees!) as an instance of the important aid derived from this arm of the police. It will not be denied, however, that an apparatus much less costly would have sufficed for the purpose. I hope I shall be pardoned if I venture to correct a misapprehension which has extensively prevailed with regard to the services of the militia on that occasion. I had been on the ground, and in the very houses the scene of the riot, for an hour previous to the appearance of the militia, and am able to state distinctly, that before this arm of the police was discerned in the street moving along "by blore of trump, and thump of drum," the riot had ceased. A small number of intelligent, fearless and unarmed men could have quelled it at a much earlier moment.

lar conviction may pervade the country regard to the police. I am well aware, how that efforts to abolish the militia system wil encountered by some of the dearest prejudice the common mind; not only by the war sp but by that other spirit, which first animates c hood, and at a later day, "children of a la growth," inviting to finery of dress and parad the same spirit which fantastically bedecks dusky feather-cinctured chiefs of the soft reg warmed by the tropical sun; which inserts i in the noses of the North American Indi which slits the ears of the Australian savages; tattoes the New Zealand cannibals.

Such is a review of the true character value of the national defences of the Ur States! It will be observed that I have thu regarded them in the plainest light of ordi worldly economy, without reference to those hi considerations, founded on the history and na of man, and the truths of Christianity which nounce them to be vain. It is grateful to k that though they may have yet the support of Jeremy Taylor calls the "popular noises," stil more economical, more humane, more wise, Christian system is daily commending itse wide circles of the good people of the land. the virtues that truly elevate a state are on its Economy, sick of the pigmy efforts to staunch smallest fountains and rills of exuberant ex diture, pleads that here is an endless, boun river, an Amazon of waste, rolling its turbid healthy waters vainly to the sea. It elude with an unnatural inconsistency when we s at a little twine and red tape, and swallow monstrous cables and armaments of war. manity pleads for the poor from whom such mi means are withdrawn. Wisdom frowns on t preparations as calculated to nurse sentiment consistent with Peace. Christianity calmly bukes the spirit in which they have their o as being of little faith, and treacherous to her behests; while History shows the sure prog of man, like the lion in Paradise still "pawin get free his hinder parts," but certain, if he be to his nature, to emancipate himself from the straints of earth.

THE SENTIMENT IN 'TIME OF PEACE P PARE FOR WAR,' EXAMINED.

The sentiment, that in time of peace we prepare for war, has been transmitted from di ages when brute force prevailed. It is the ter inheritance, the *damnosa hæreditas*, which pain reminds the people of our day of their relat with the Past. It belongs to the rejected dog of barbarism. It is the companion of those h rules of tyranny, by which the happiness of many has been offered up to the propensitie the few. It is the child of suspicion and the runner of violence. Having in its favor the most uninterrupted usage of the world, it posse a hold on the common mind, which is not e unloosed. And yet the conscientious soul ea fail, on careful observation, to detect its most chievous fallacy — a fallacy the most costly world has witnessed, and which dooms natio annual tributes in comparison with which all have been extorted by conquests are as the wid mite by the side of Pharisaical contributi

ue is what Rousseau said, and Guizot has repeated, "that a bad principle is far worse a bad fact;" for the operations of the one are , while those of the other are infinite.

peak of this principle with earnestness: for I ve it to be erroneous and false, founded in ance and barbarism, unworthy of an age of , and disgraceful to Christians. I have called rinciple; but it is a mere *prejudice*—sustained uman example only, and not by lofty truth—eying which we imitate the early mariners, steered from headland to headland and ed the shore, unwilling to venture upon the d ocean, where their guide should be the luaries of Heaven.

smissing from our minds, the actual usage of ns on the one side, and the considerations of omy on the other, and regarding preparations war in time of peace in the clear light of n, in a just appreciation of the nature of man, in the injunctions of the highest truth, they ot fail to be branded as most pernicious. y are pernicious on two grounds; *first*, be- they inflame the people, who make them, ing them to deeds of violence which other- would be most alien to their minds; and *d*, because having their origin in the low ve of distrust and hate, they inevitably, by a law of the human mind, excite a correspond- feeling in other nations. Thus they are in not the *preservers of peace*, but the *provokers of*

OSSESSION OF POWER DANGEROUS.

illustration of the *first* of these grounds, it occur to every inquirer, that the possession of r is always in itself dangerous, that it tempts urest and highest natures to self-indulgence, it can be rarely enjoyed without abuse; nor power to employ force in war, or otherwise, xception to this law. History teaches that the ns possessing the greatest military forces, always been the most belligerent; while the er powers have enjoyed, for a longer period, lessings of Peace. The din of war resounds ghout more than seven hundred years of an history, with only two short lulls of re- ; while smaller states, less potent in arms, without the excitement to quarrels on this ac- t, have enjoyed long eras of Peace. It is not e history of nations only, that we find proofs is law. Like every great moral principle, it ies equally to individuals. The experience ivate life, in all ages, confirms it. The *wear- f arms* has always been a provocative to com- It has excited the spirit and furnished the ements of strife. As we revert to the pro- of society in modern Europe, we find that odious system of private quarrels, of hostile ings even in the street, continued so long as persevered in the habit of wearing arms. merable families were thinned by death re- d in these hasty and often unpremeditated unters; and the lives of scholars and poets often exposed to their rude chances. Mar- , "with all his rare learning and wit," per- l ignominiously under the weapon of an own adversary; and Savage, whose genius misfortune inspired the friendship and the gies of Johnson, was tried for murder committed in a sudden broil. "The expert swordsman," says Mr. Jay, "the practised marksman, is ever more ready to engage in personal combats, than the man who is unaccustomed to the use of deadly weapons. In those portions of our country where it is supposed essential to personal safety to go armed with pistols and bowie knives, mortal affrays are so frequent as to excite but little attention, and to secure, with rare exceptions, impunity to the murderer; whereas, at the North and East, where we are unprovided with such facilities for taking life, comparatively few murders of the kind are perpetrated. We might, indeed, safely submit the decision of the principle we are discussing to the calculations of pecuniary interest. Let two men, equal in age and health, apply for an insurance on their lives; one known to be ever armed to defend his honor and his life against every assailant; and the other a meek, unresisting Quaker. Can we doubt for a moment which of these men would be deemed by the Insurance Company most likely to reach a good old age?

EFFECTS OF LOVE AND FORBEARANCE.

The *second* of these grounds is a part of the unalterable nature of man, which was recognized in early ages, though unhappily it has been rarely made the basis of intercourse among nations. It is an expansion of the old Horatian adage, *Si vis me flere, dolendum est primum ipsi tibi;* if you wish me to weep, you must yourself first weep. So are we all knit together that the feelings in our own bosoms awaken corresponding feelings in the bosoms of others; as harp answers to harp in its softest vibrations; as deep responds to deep in the might of its passions. What within us is good invites the good in our brother; generosity begets generosity; love wins love; Peace secures Peace; while all within us that is bad challenges the bad in our brother; distrust engenders distrust; hate provokes hate; War arouses War. Life is full of illustrations of this beautiful law. Even the miserable maniac, in whose mind the common rules of conduct are overthrown, confesses its overruling power, and the vacant stare of madness may be illumined by a word of love. The wild beasts confess it; and what is the interesting story of Orpheus, whose music drew in listening rapture the lions and panthers of the forest, but an expression of this prevailing law?

Literature abounds in illustrations of this principle. Looking back to the early dawn of the world, one of the most touching scenes which we behold, illumined by that Auroral light, is the peaceful visit of the aged Priam to the tent of Achilles to entreat the body of his son. The fierce combat had ended in the death of Hector, whose unhonored corse the bloody Greek has already trailed behind his chariot. The venerable father, after twelve days of grief, is moved to efforts to regain the remains of the Hector he had so dearly loved. He leaves his lofty cedarn chamber, and with a single aged attendant, unarmed, repairs to the Grecian camp, by the side of the distant sounding sea. Entering alone, he finds Achilles within his tent; in the company of two of his chiefs. He grasps his knees, and kisses those terrible homicidal hands, which had taken the life of his son. The heart of the inflexible, the angry, the inflamed Achilles is touched by the

sight which he beholds, and responds to the feelings of Priam. He takes the suppliant by the hand, seats him by his side, consoles his grief, refreshes his weary body, and concedes to the prayers of a weak, unarmed old man, what all Troy in arms could not win.* In this scene the poet, with unconscious power, has presented a picture of the omnipotence of that law of our nature, making all mankind of kin, in obedience to which no word of kindness, no act of confidence, falls idly to the earth.

Among the legendary passages of Roman history, perhaps none makes a deeper impression than that scene, after the Roman youth had been consumed at Allia, and the invading Gauls under Brennus had entered the city, where we behold the venerable Senators of the Republic, too old to flee, and careless of surviving the Roman name, seated each on his curule chair, in a temple, unarmed, looking, as Livy says, more august than mortal, and with the majesty of the gods. The Gauls gaze on them as upon sacred images, and the hand of slaughter, which had raged through the streets of Rome, is stayed by the sight of an assembly of unarmed old men. At length a Gaul approaches and gently strokes with his hands the silver beard of a Senator, who, indignant at the license, smites the barbarian with his ivory staff; which was the signal for general vengeance. Think you, that a band of savages could have slain these Senators, if the appeal to force had not first been made by one of their own number!

Following this sentiment in the literature of modern times we find its pervading presence. I will not dwell on the examples which arise to the mind. I will allude only to that scene in Swedish poetry, where Frithiof, in deadly combat with Atlé, when the falchion of the latter broke, said, throwing away his own weapon—

> —— Swordless foeman's life
> Ne'er dyed this gallant blade.

The two champions now closed in mutual clutch; they hugged like bears, says the Poet;

> 'T is o'er; for Frithiof's matchless strength
> Has felled his ponderous size;
> And 'neath that knee, at giant length,
> Supine the Viking lies.
> "But fails my sword, thou Berserk swart!"
> The voice rang far and wide,
> "Its point should pierce thy inmost heart,
> Its hilt should drink the tide."
> "Be free to lift the weaponed hand,"
> Undaunted Atlé spoke,
> "Hence, fearless, quest thy distant brand!
> Thus I abide the stroke."

Frithiof regains his sword, intent to close the dread debate, while his adversary awaits the stroke; but his heart responds to the generous courage of his foe; he cannot injure one who has shown such confidence in him;—

> *This quelled his ire, this checked his arm,*
> *Outstretched the hand of peace.*

I cannot leave these illustrations without alluding particularly to the history of the treatment of the insane, which is full of deep instruction, sho ing how strong in nature must be the princip which leads us to respond to the conduct a feelings of others. When Pinel first proposed remove the heavy chains from the raving mani of the hospitals of Paris, he was regarded as c who saw visions, or dreamed dreams. His wisl were gratified at last; and the change in the c duct of his patients was immediate; the wrink front of evil passions was smoothed into the sere countenance of Peace. The old treatment by fo is now universally abandoned; the law of lo has taken its place; and all these unfortuna mingle together, unvexed by those restraints, wh implied suspicion, and, therefore, aroused oppo tion. The warring propensities, which once fil with confusion and strife the hospitals for insane while they were controlled by force, ar dark but feeble type of the present relations nations, on whose hands are the heavy chains military preparations, assimilating the world one great mad-house; while the peace and go will which now abound in these retreats, are happy emblems of what awaits the world wl it shall have the wisdom to recognize the premacy of the higher sentiments of our natu of gentleness, of confidence, of love;

> —— making their future might
> Magnetic o'er the fixed untrembling heart.

I might also dwell on the recent experience, full of delightful wisdom, in the treatment of distant, degraded convicts of New South Wa showing the importance of confidence and ki ness on the part of their overseers, in awaken a corresponding sentiment even in these outca from whose souls virtue seems, at first view, to wholly blotted out. Thus from all quarters, fr the far-off past, from the far-away Pacific, fr the verse of the poet, from the legend of hist from the cell of the mad-house, from the assem of transported criminals, from the experience daily life, from the universal heart of man, eends the spontaneous tribute to the prevail power of that law, according to which the hun heart responds to the feelings by which it addressed, whether of confidence or distrust, love or hate.

It will be urged that these instances are exc tions to the general laws by which mankind governed. It is not so. They are the unansw ble evidence of the real nature of man. T reveal the divinity of humanity, out of which goodness, all happiness, all true greatness alone proceed. They disclose susceptibili which are general, which are confined to no p ticular race of men, to no period of time, to narrow circle of knowledge and refinement— ceptibilities which are present wherever two more human beings come together. It is, th on the impregnable ground of the universal unalterable nature of man, that I place the fall of that prejudice, in obedience to which in t of peace we prepare for war.

LOVE MORE PUISSANT THAN FORCE.

But this prejudice is not only founded on a r conception of the nature of man; it is abhor to Christianity, which teaches that Love is m puissant than Force. To the reflecting mind

* This scene fills a large part of a book of the Iliad. (XXIV.) It is instructive to all, who would know what commends itself most truly to the heart of man, what is most truly grand, to observe that the passages of Homer which receive the most unquestioned admiration are—not the bloody combats even of the bravest chiefs, even of the gods themselves—but those two passages in which he has painted the gentle, unwarlike affections of our nature; the parting of Hector and Andromache, and the supplication of

ipotence of God himself is less discernible in arthquake and the storm than in the gentle uickening rays of the sun, and the sweet deling dews. And he is a careless observer does not recognize the superiority of gentleand kindness, as a mode of exercising influ- or securing rights among men. As the s of violence beat about them, they hug those les, which they gladly throw to the earth r the genial warmth of a kindly sun. Thus ations have drawn their weapons from the ly armories of Force, unmindful of those s of celestial temper from the house of Love. t Christianity not only teaches the superiority ve over Force; it positively enjoins the prac- f the one, and the rejection of the other. It "Love your neighbors;" but it does not say; ime of Peace rear the massive fortification, the man of war, enlist armies, train the a, and accumulate military stores to be em- d in future quarrels with your neighbors." recepts go still further. They direct that we d do unto others as we would have them do us—a golden rule for the conduct of nations ell as individuals, called by Confucius the e of the heart, and made by him the basis e nine maxims of Government which he nted to the sovereigns of his country; but inconsistent with that distrust of others, in gful obedience to which nations, in time of e, seem to sleep like soldiers on their arms. ts precepts go still further. They enjoin pa- e, suffering, forgiveness of evil, even the duty nefiting a destroyer, "as the sandal wood, in stant of its overthrow, sheds perfume on the which fells it." And can a people, in whom aith is more than an idle word, consent to enormous sacrifices of money, in violation plainest precepts?

e injunction, "Love one another," is applica- nations as well as individuals. It is one e great laws of Heaven. And any one may measure his nearness to God by the degree ich he regulates his conduct by this truth. response to these successive views, founded nsiderations of economy, of the true nature n, and of Christianity, I hear the skeptical of some defender of the transmitted order ings, some one who wishes "to fight for ;" saying, these views are beautiful but vis- y; they are in advance of the age; the world yet prepared for their reception. To such ns (if there be such), I would say; nothing e beautiful that is not true; but these views ue; the time is now come for their recep- now is the day and now is the hour. Every to impede their progress arrests the advanc- and on the great dial-plate of human happi-

e name of Washington is invoked as an au- y for a prejudice which Economy, Humanity Christianity all declare to be false. Mighty everend as is his name, more mighty and reverend is truth. The words of counsel he gave were in accordance with the spirit age,—an age which was not shocked by the trade. But his lofty soul, which loved vir- and inculcated justice and benevolence, s upon the efforts of those who would use thority as an incentive to war. God forbid his sacred character should be profanely stretched, like the skin of John Ziska, on a militia drum to arouse the martial ardor of the American people!*

It is melancholy to consider the impediments which truth encounters on its first appearance. A large portion of mankind, poising themselves on the flagitious fallacy, that *Whatever is, is right*, avert their countenances from all that is inconsistent with established usage. I have already, in another part of this address, set forth the superiority of principle to any human example; I would here repeat that the practice of nations can be no apology for a system which is condemned by such principles as I have now considered. Truth enters the world like a humble child, with few to receive her; it is only when she has grown in years and stature, and the purple flush of youthful strength beams from her face, that she is sought and wooed. It has been thus in all ages. Nay, more; there is often an irritation excited by her presence; and men who are kind and charitable forget their kindness and lose their charity towards the unaccustomed strangers. It was this feeling which awarded a dungeon to Galileo, when he declared that the earth moved round the sun; which neglected the great discovery of the circulation of the blood by Harvey; and which bitterly opposed the divine philanthropy of Clarkson, when he first denounced the wickedness of the slave-trade. But the rejected truths of to-day shall become the chief corner-stones to the next generation.

PROGRESS OF RIGHT SENTIMENTS.

Auspicious omens in the history of the past and in the present, cheer us for the future. The terrible wars of the French Revolution were the violent rending of the body which preceded the

* The following table of the Military and Naval Expenditures of the United States, during the eight years of the administration of Washington, compared with those for the last eight years, to which I have had access, will show how his practice accords with that of our day:

Years.	Military Establishment.	Naval Establishment.
1789-91	$ 835,000	$570
1792	1,223,594	53
1793	1,237,620	
1794	2,733,540	61,409
1795	2,573,059	410,562
1796	1,474,661	274,784
Total during the eight years of Washington,	$10,078,092	$847,378
1835	9,420,313	3,864,939
1836	18,466,110	5,809,763
1837	19,417,274	6,852,060
1838	19,936,412	5,175,771
1839	14,268,981	6,225,003
1840	11,621,438	6,124,445
1842	13,903,898	6,246,503
1843	8,248,918	7,963,678
Total during eight years,	$114,283,244	$49,053,473

Thus it appears that the expenditures for the defences of the country, under the sanction of Washington, amounted to about *eleven million* dollars, while those during a recent similar period of eight years, stretch to upwards of *one hundred and sixty-four million of dollars!* To him who quotes the precept of Washington, I commend the practice. All will agree that, in this age, when the whole world is at peace, and when our power is assured, there is less need of these preparations than in an age convulsed with war, when our power was little respected. The only semblance of an argument in their favor is founded in the increased wealth of the country; but the capacity of the country to endure taxation is no criterion of its justice!

exorcism of the fiend. Since the morning stars first sang together, the world has not witnessed a peace so harmonious and enduring as that which now blesses the Christian nations. Great questions between them, fraught with strife, and in another age, sure heralds of war, are now determined by arbitration or mediation. Great political movements, which only a few short years ago must have led to forcible rebellion, are now conducted by peaceful discussion. Literature, the press, and various societies, all join in the holy work of inculcating good will to man. The spirit of humanity now pervades the best writings, whether the elevated philosophical inquiries of the *Vestiges of Creation*, the ingenious but melancholy moralizings of the *Story of a Feather*, or the overflowing raillery of *Punch*.* Genius can never be so Promethean as when it bears the heavenly fire of love to the hearths of men.

It was Dr. Johnson, in the last age, who uttered the detestable sentiment, that he liked "a good hater;" the man of this age shall say, he likes "a good lover." A poet, whose few verses will bear him on his immortal flight with unflagging wing, has given expression to this sentiment in words of uncommon pathos and power:†

> He prayeth well who loveth well
> All things, both great and small.
>
> He prayeth best who loveth best
> Both man, and bird, and beast,
> For the dear God who loveth us,
> He made and loveth all.

Every where the ancient law of hate is yielding to the law of love. It is seen in the change of dress; the armor of complete steel was the habiliment of the knight; and the sword was an indispensable companion of the gentleman of the last century; but he would be thought a madman or a bully who should wear either now. It is seen in the change in domestic architecture; the places once chosen for castles or houses, were in the most savage, inaccessible retreats, where the massive structure was reared, destined solely to repel attacks, and to enclose its inhabitants. The monasteries and churches were fortified, and girdled by towers, ramparts and ditches, and a child was often stationed as a watchman,—not of the night,— but to observe what passed at a distance, and announce the approach of the enemy! The houses of the peaceful citizens in towns were castellated, often without so much as an aperture for light near the ground, and with loop-holes above, through which the shafts of the cross-bow might be aimed. In the system of fortifications and preparations for war, nations act towards each other in the spirit of mistrust and barbarism, which we have traced in the individual, but which he has now renounced. In so doing, they t counsel of the wild boar in the fable, who whe his tusks on a tree of the forest, when no ene was near, saying that in time of peace he n prepare for war. But has not the time now co when man whom God created in his own im and to whom He gave the heaven-directed c tenance, shall cease to look down to the beasts examples of conduct?

We have already offered our homage to early monarch of France, for his efforts in abol ing the Trial by Battle and in the cause of Pe To another monarch of France, in our own da descendant of St. Louis, worthy of the illustr lineage, Louis Philippe, belongs the honest fi of first publishing from the throne the truth, Peace was endangered by preparations for W "The sentiment, or rather the principle," he s "that in peace you must prepare for war, *is on difficulty and danger; for while we keep armie land to preserve peace, they are, at the same time centives and instruments of war.* He rejoiced it efforts to preserve peace, for that was wha need. He thought the time was coming wher shall get rid entirely of war in all civilized c tries." This time has been hailed by a gene voice from the army itself, by a Marshal of Fra who gave as a toast at a public dinner in Pa the following words of salutation to a new approaching era of happiness: "To the pa union of the great human family, by the associa of individuals, nations and races! To the a hilation of war! To the transformation of structive armies into corps of industrious labo who will consecrate their lives to the cultiva and embellishment of the world!" Be it our to speed this consummation!

WILLIAM PENN.

To William Penn belongs the distinction, tined to brighten as men advance in virtue first in human history, establishing the *La Love* as a rule of conduct for the intercours nations. While he recognized as a great en government, "to support power in reverence the people, and to secure the people from abu power," he declined the superfluous protectio arms against foreign force, and "aimed to re the savage nations by just and gentle manne the love of civil society and the Christian gion." His serene countenance, as he stands his followers in what he called the sweet clear air of Pennsylvania, all unarmed, ben the spreading elm, forming the great treat friendship with the untutored Indians,—wh with savage display the surrounding forest a as the eye can reach,—not to wrest their land violence, but to obtain them by peaceful purc is, to my mind, the proudest picture in the hi of our country. "The great God," said this trious Quaker, in his words of sincerity and t addressed to the Sachems, "has written his

* While this Oration was passing through the press, I read in one of the public prints, a letter, dated Birmingham, July 3, 1845, from which I make the following extract: "The Peace Question makes rapid progress in this country. I verily believe that if the people were polled to-morrow, nine-tenths of them would pronounce all war to be unchristian, and not a few would vote for the entire abrogation of our military and naval forces. The London Peace Society is doing much to deepen and confirm this feeling, and nearly all our cheap periodicals are *peace-toned*." The last fact is of peculiar importance; for it is in this way that the hearts of the people are to be touched. The agitation in Ireland, and that gigantic combination in England, the Anti-Corn Law League, proceed on the *peace principle*. "Remember," says Mr. O'Connell, in words that will be immortal, "that no political change is worth a single crime, or above all, a single drop of human blood."

† [illegible] Ancient Mariner.

‡ Marshal Bugeaud, Governor of Algiers, gave this April 7, 1840, at one of several public dinners at that to commemorate the character and services of Fourier. unlike this humane and noble sentiment of the Marsl France, are the braggart standing toasts at the celebr of our National Anniversary, vaunting in swelling pl the glories of the army, the navy, and the militia, whi great interests of civilization, the administration of ju education, humanity, are neglected, or only introduce sour olives and mouldy cheese, at the end of the feast.

hearts, by which we are taught and com-
d to love and to help, and to do good to one
r. It is not our custom to use hostile wea-
gainst our fellow-creatures, for which reason
ve come unarmed. Our object is not to do
but to do good. We have met, then, in the
pathway of good faith and good will, so
advantage can be taken on either side, but
to be openness, brotherhood and love;
all are to be treated as of the same flesh
lood." These are, indeed, words of true
ess. "Without any carnal weapons," says
his companions, "we entered the land, and
ed therein as safe as if there had been
nds of garrisons." "This little State," says
xon, "subsisted in the midst of six Indian
s, without so much as a militia for its de-
A great man, worthy of the mantle of
the venerable philanthropist, Clarkson, in
of the founder of Pennsylvania, says, "The
lvanians became armed, though without
they became strong, though without strength;
ecame safe, without the ordinary means of
The constable's staff was the only instru-
of authority amongst them for the greater
a century, and never, during the adminis-
of Penn, or that of his proper successors,
ere a quarrel or a war."
ater than the divinity that doth hedge a
s the divinity that encompasses the right-
an, and the righteous people. The flowers
sperity smiled in the blessed footprints of
m Penn. His people were unmolested and
while (sad, but true contrast!) those of
olonies, acting upon the policy of the world,
g forts, and showing themselves in arms,
er receiving provocation, but merely in the
ation, or from the fear, of insults or danger,
arassed by perpetual alarms, and pierced
sharp arrows of savage war.
pattern of a Christian commonwealth never
arrest the admiration of all who contem-
ts beauties. It drew an epigram of eulogy
he caustic pen of Voltaire, and has been
painted by many virtuous historians. Every
ous soul in our day offers his willing tribute
e celestial graces of justice and humanity,
side of which the flinty hardness of the
s of Plymouth Rock seems earthly and

let us not confine ourselves to barren words
gnition of virtue. While we see the right,
prove it, too, let us dare to pursue it. Let
, in this age of civilization, surrounded by
an nations, be willing to follow the success-
ample of William Penn, surrounded by
s. Let us, while we recognise those tran-
nt ordinances of God,

AW OF RIGHT AND THE LAW OF LOVE,

double suns which illumine the moral uni-
—aspire to the true glory and what is higher
lory, the great good, of taking the lead in
arming of the nations. Let us abandon the
of preparation for war in time of peace, as
al, unchristian, vainly prodigal of expense,
ving a direct tendency to excite the very
ainst which it professes to guard. Let the
us means thus released from iron-hands,
oted to labors of beneficence. Our battle-
ments shall be schools, hospitals, colleges and churches; our arsenals shall be libraries; our navy shall be peaceful ships, on errands of perpetual commerce; our army shall be the teachers of youth, and the ministers of religion. This is, indeed, the cheap defence of nations. In such entrenchments, what Christian soul can be touched with fear? Angels of the Lord shall throw over the land an invisible, but impenetrable panoply;

> Or if virtue feeble were
> Heaven itself would stoop to her.*

At the thought of such a change in policy, the imagination loses itself in the vain effort to follow the various streams of happiness, which gush forth as from a thousand hills. Then shall the naked be clothed and the hungry fed. Institutions of science and learning shall crown every hill-top; hospitals for the sick, and other retreats for the unfortunate children of the world, for all who suffer in any way, in mind, body or estate, shall nestle in every valley; while the spires of new churches shall leap exulting to the skies. The whole land shall bear witness to the change; art shall confess it in the new inspiration of the canvass and the marble; the harp of the poet shall proclaim it in a loftier rhyme. Above all, the heart of man shall bear witness to it in the elevation of his sentiments, in the expansion of his affections, in his devotion to the highest truth, in his appreciation of true greatness. The eagle of our country, without the terror of his beak, and dropping the forceful thunderbolt from his pounces, shall soar with the olive of Peace, into untried realms of ether, nearer to the sun.

THE SUBJECT REVIEWED.

And here let us review the field over which we have passed. We have beheld war, a mode of determining justice between nations, having its origin in an appeal, not to the moral and intellectual part of man's nature, distinguishing him from the beasts, but to that low part of his nature, which he has in common with the beasts; we have contemplated its infinite miseries to the human race; we have weighed its sufficiency as a mode of determining justice between nations, and found that it is a rude appeal to force, or a gigantic game of chance, in which God's children are profanely dealt with as a pack of cards, while in its unnatural and irrational wickedness, it is justly to be likened to the monstrous and impious usage of *Trial by Battle* which disgraced the dark ages, thus showing that in this period of boasted civilization, justice between nations is determined by the same rules of barbarous brutal force which once controlled the relations between individuals. We have next considered the various prejudices by which War is sustained; founded on a false belief in its necessity; on the practice of nations past and present; on the infidelity of the Christian Church; on a false idea of honor; on an exaggerated idea of the duties of patriotism; and lastly that monster prejudice, which draws its vampire life from the vast preparations in time of peace for war; dwelling at the last stage upon the thriftless, irrational and unchristian character

* These are the concluding words of that most exquisite creation of early genius, the Comus of Milton.

of these preparations, and catching a vision of the exalted good that will be achieved when our country, learning wisdom, shall aim at the true grandeur of Peace.

IN WHAT TRUE GREATNESS CONSISTS.

And now, if it be asked why, on this National Anniversary, in the consideration of the TRUE GRANDEUR OF NATIONS, I have thus dwelt singly and exclusively on war, it is, because war is utterly and irreconcilably inconsistent with true greatness. Thus far mankind has worshipped, in military glory, an idol, compared with which the colossal images of ancient Babylon or modern Hindostan are but toys; and we, in this blessed day of light, in this blessed land of freedom, are among the idolaters. The Heaven-descended injunction, *know thyself*, still speaks to an ignorant world from the distant letters of gold at Delphi; *know thyself;* know that the moral nature is the most noble part of man; transcending far that part which is the seat of passion, strife and war; nobler than the intellect itself. Suppose war to be decided by *force*, where is the glory? Suppose it to be decided by *chance*, where is the glory? No; true greatness consists in imitating as near as is possible for finite man, the perfections of an Infinite Creator; above all, in cultivating those highest perfections, Justice and Love; Justice, which, like that of St. Louis, shall not swerve to the right hand or to the left; Love, which like that of William Penn, shall regard all mankind of kin. "God is angry," says Plato, "when any one censures a man like himself, *or praises a man of an opposite character.* And the God-like man is the good man." And again in another of those lovely dialogues, vocal with immortal truth, "Nothing resembles God more than that man among us who has arrived at the highest degree of justice." The true greatness of nations is in those qualities which constitute the greatness of the individual. It is not to be found in extent of territory nor in vastness of population, nor in wealth; not in fortifications, or armies, or navies; not in the phosphorescent glare of fields of battle; not in Golgothas, though covered by monuments that kiss the clouds; for all these are the creatures and representatives of those qualities in our nature, which are unlike anything in God's nature.

Nor is the greatness of nations to be found in triumphs of the intellect alone, in literature, learning, science or art. The polished Greeks, the world's masters in the delights of language, and in range of thought, and the commanding Romans, overawing the earth with their power, were little more than splendid savages; and the age of Louis XIV of France, spanning so long a period of ordinary worldly magnificence, thronged by marshals bending under military laurels, enlivened by the unsurpassed comedy of Molière, dignified by the tragic genius of Corneille, illumined by the splendors of Bossuet, is degraded by immoralities that cannot be mentioned without a blush, by a heartlessness in comparison with which the ice of Nova Zembla is warm, and by a succession of deeds of injustice not to be washed out by the tears of all the recording angels of Heaven.

The true greatness of a nation cannot be in triumphs of the intellect alone. Literature and art may widen the sphere of its influence; they may adorn it; but they are in their nature accessaries. *The true grandeur of humanity moral elevation, sustained, enlightened and deco by the intellect of man.* The truest tokens of grandeur in a State are the diffusion of the g est happiness among the greatest number, that passionless, God-like justice, which cor the relations of the State to other States, ar all the people, who are committed to its chai

But war crushes with bloody heel all ju all happiness, all that is God-like in man. is," says the eloquent Robert Hall, "the temp repeal of all the principles of virtue." Tr cannot be disguised, that there are passages dreary annals cheered by deeds of generosity sacrifice. But the virtues which shed their c over its horrors are all borrowed of Peace; are emanations of the spirit of love, which strong in the heart of man, that it survive rudest assaults. The flowers of gentlenes kindliness, of fidelity, of humanity, which flo in unregarded luxuriance in the rich meadov Peace, receive unwonted admiration whe discern them in war, like violets shedding perfume on the perilous edge of the prec beyond the smiling borders of civilization. be praised for all the examples of magnani virtue which he has vouchsafed to man God be praised that the Roman Emperor, to start on a distant expedition of war, e passed by squadrons of cavalry and by g eagles which moved in the winds, stooped his saddle to listen to the prayer of the hu widow, demanding justice for the death o son! God be praised that Sydney, on the fie battle, gave with dying hand the cup of cold to the dying soldier! That single act of forgetful sacrifice has consecrated the fenny of Zutphen, far, oh! far beyond its battle; i consecrated thy name, gallant Sydney, beyon feat of thy sword, beyond any triumph of thy But there are hands outstretched elsewhere on fields of blood, for so little as a cup of water; the world is full of opportunities for of kindness. Let me not be told, then, of th tues of War. Let not the acts of generosity sacrifice which have triumphed on its field invoked in its defence. In the words of Or imagery, the poisonous tree, though watere nectar, can produce only the fruit of death!

As we cast our eyes over the history of na we discern with horror the succession of derous slaughters by which their progres been marked. As the hunter traces the beast, when pursued to his lair, by the dro blood on the earth, so we follow Man, faint, w staggering with wounds, through the Black of the Past, which he has reddened with his Oh! let it not be in the future ages as in which we now contemplate. Let the grand man be discerned in the blessings which h secured; in the good he has accomplishe the triumphs of benevolence and justice; establishment of perpetual peace.

As the ocean washes every shore, and with all-embracing arms, every land, wh bears on its heaving bosom the products of v elimes; so Peace surrounds, protects and up all other blessings. Without it commerce is the ardor of industry is restrained, happin blasted, virtue sickens and dies.

THE VICTORIES OF PEACE.

ıd peace has its own peculiar victories, in arison with which Marathon and Bannock- and Bunker Hill, fields held sacred in the ry of human freedom, shall lose their lustre. own Washington rises to a truly Heavenly re,—not when we follow him over the ice of Delaware to the capture of Trenton,—not ı we behold him victorious over Cornwallis rktown; but when we regard him, in noble ence to justice, refusing the kingly crown h a faithless soldiery proffered, and at a later upholding the peaceful neutrality of the coun- vhile he received unmoved the clamor of the le wickedly crying for war. What glory of in England's annals will not fade by the of that great act of Justice, by which her ilature, at a cost of one hundred million rs, gave freedom to eight hundred thousand s! And when the day shall come, (may eyes be gladdened by its beams!) that shall ess an act of greater justice still, the peaceful icipation of three millions of our fellow-men, ty of a skin not colored as our own," now in gloomy bondage, in our own country, then, there be a victory, in comparison with which of Bunker Hill shall be as a farthing-candle up to the sun. That victory shall need no ment of stone. It shall be written on the ful hearts of uncounted multitudes, that shall aim it to the latest generation. It shall be f the great land-marks of civilization; nay, it shall be one of the links in the golden by which Humanity shall connect itself the throne of God.

the cedars of Lebanon are higher than the of the valley; as the heavens are higher the earth; as man is higher than the beasts field; as the angels are higher than man; that ruleth his spirit is higher than he that a city; so are the virtues and victories of higher than the virtues and victories of

be from us, fellow-citizens, on this Anni- ry, the illusions of National freedom in ı we are too prone to indulge. We have but lone, when we have made ourselves free. ot the scornful taunt be directed at us; "They to be *free;* but know not how to be *just.*" om is not an end in itself; but a means a means of securing Justice and Happiness, al end and aim of States, as of every human It becomes us to inquire earnestly if there much to be done by which these can be oted. If I have succeeded in impressing on minds the truths, which I have upheld to- ou will be ready to join in efforts for the tion of War, and of all preparation for War, dispensable to the true grandeur of our y.

this great work let me summon you. That e which filled the lofty visions of the sages ards of Greece and Rome, which was fore- y the prophets and heralded by the evange- when man in Happy Isles, or in a new ise, shall confess the loveliness of Peace, e secured by your care, if not for yourselves, st for your children. Believe that you can and you can do it. The true golden age is you, not behind you. If man has been driven once from Paradise, while an angel with a flaming sword forbade his return, there is another Paradise, even on earth, which he may form for himself, by the cultivation of the kindly virtues of life, where the confusion of tongues shall be dissolved in the union of hearts, where there shall be a perpetual jocund spring, and sweet strains borne on "the odoriferous wing of gentle gales," more pleasant than the vale of Tempe, richer than the garden of the Hesperides, with no dragon to guard its golden fruit.

Let it not be said that the age does not demand this work. The mighty conquerors of the Past, from their fiery sepulchres, demand it; the blood of millions unjustly shed in war, crying from the ground, demands it; the voices of all good men demand it; the conscience even of the soldier whispers "Peace." There are considerations, springing from our situation and condition, which fervently invite us to take the lead in this great work. To this should bend the patriotic ardor of the land; the ambition of the statesman; the efforts of the scholar; the pervasive influence of the press; the mild persuasion of the sanctuary; the early teachings of the school. Here, in ampler ether and diviner air, are untried fields for exalted triumphs, more truly worthy the American name, than any snatched from rivers of blood. War is known as the *Last Reason of Kings.* Let it be no reason of our Republic. Let us renounce and throw off for ever the yoke of a tyranny more oppressive than any in the annals of the world. As those standing on the mountain-tops first discern the coming beams of morning, let us, from the vantage-ground of liberal institutions, first recognize the ascending sun of a new era! Lift high the gates, and let the King of Glory in—the King of true Glory—of Peace. I catch the last words of music from the lips of innocence and beauty;*

And let the whole earth be filled with his glory!

It is a beautiful picture in Grecian story, that there was at least one spot, the small Island of Delos, dedicated to the Gods, and kept at all times sacred from war, where the citizens of hostile countries met and united in a common worship. So let us dedicate our broad country! The Temple of Honor shall be surrounded by the Temple of Concord, so that the former can be entered only through the portals of the latter; the horn of Abundance shall overflow at its gates; the angel of Religion shall be the guide over its steps of flashing adamant; while within JUSTICE, returned to the earth from her long exile in the skies, shall rear her serene and majestic front. And the future chiefs of the Republic, destined to uphold the glories of a new era, unspotted by human blood, shall be "the first in PEACE, and the first in the hearts of their countrymen."

But while we seek these blissful glories for ourselves, let us strive to extend them to other lands. Let the bugles sound the *Truce of God* to the whole world for ever. Let the selfish boast of the Spartan women become the grand chorus of mankind, that they have never seen the smoke of an enemy's camp. Let the iron belt of martial music which

* The services of the choir at the Church, where the Oration was delivered, were performed by the youthful daughters of the public schools of Boston.

now encompasses the earth, be exchanged for the golden cestus of Peace, clothing all with celestial beauty. History dwells with fondness on the reverent homage, that was bestowed, by massacring soldiers, on the spot occupied by the Sepulchre of the Lord. Vain man! to restrain his regard to a few feet of sacred mould! The whole earth is the Sepulchre of the Lord; nor can righteous man profane any part thereof. I recognize this truth; and now, on this Sabba our country, lay a new stone in the grand Te of Universal Peace, whose dome shall be as as the firmament of Heaven, as broad and prehensive as the earth itself.

APPENDIX.

A.

[Referred to on page 12.]

Dr. Vinton's Sermon.—The sermon of the Rev. Dr. Vinton, pronounced before the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company, is a most disheartening production. It is the subtle effort of an excellent mind to reconcile what he calls defensive war (he does not show that such a war is possible, in this age, among Christian nations) with the injunctions of Christianity, severing and dividing, as with profane metaphysical scissors, a most intelligible verse of the Gospel, wholly neglecting others of great and controlling significance, and seeking to overturn one of the most blessed truths. The sermon was delivered on a public occasion of ceremony, before a military body; it was voted by the martial critics, "able, eloquent, and interesting," and at their request was printed. It has been praised in newspapers; though, to the credit of a wakeful press, which now exercises a restraining influence over the clergy, as well as the laity, its pernicious doctrines and its unfair reasoning have already been rebuked by two able writers in different journals. It has thus become public property, and as such, I venture to dwell on its character.

This sermon is particularly sinister at this moment, when the country stands on the verge of two wars, which will be proclaimed to be defensive in their character, though having in them no element of *self-defence*, and being mere trials of title to distant territories. It is also unfair in its peculiar mode of treating the question. There is an honest hardihood in the military ardor with which Grotius (De jure Belli ac Pacis) and, since him, Mr. Lieber (Political Ethics), march against the direct injunctions of the Saviour, the *ipsissima verba* of the Gospel, treating them as of little or no account, as extravagances or exaggerations. But Dr. Vinton founds his defence of war on a single verse of the Gospel, leaving all others untouched, and even concealing them from the view. In this way he may avoid seeming directly to stultify Him whom he calls Master, by declaring that his words do not mean what they seem to mean; that He did not know what he meant when he said, "Ye have heard that it hath been said, Thou shalt love thy neighbor and hate thine enemy; but I say unto you, Love your enemies;" and that Paul indulged in an impracticable extravagance when he said, "Overcome evil with good." But placing his whole argument upon a single verse, the whole superstructure rushes to the earth when the interpretation by which it is supported is shown to be inconsistent with the general character and teachings of Christ; inconsistent with the fair and natural sense of the words in the English version; utterly and flagrantly inconsistent with the plain and grammatical construction of the original Greek; so much so as to lead to the conclusion that Dr. Vinton did not refer to the original Greek, or did not understand it. I am indebted to a friend, whose name it would be superfluous in me to mention, for the following masterly criticism of Dr. Vinton's treatment of this verse. After reading this, no person can regard it otherwise than monstrous to found a scriptural defence of so great a crime as war on an unfair, ignorant and ungrammatical perversion of a few short words in the gospel of peace.

To those who are desirous of reading a natural and unanswerable expression of the true doctrine of Christianity on the subject of war, where the different injunctions of the Saviour seem to come together and arrange themselves, not by subtle force, but spontaneously and by divine harmony, I would refer to the elaborate work of Dymond on War; to the essay by Gurney, entitled, "War unlawful under the Christian dispensation;" the Address of the Rev. Andrew P. Peabody, before the American Peace Society; a truly Christian sermon of Rev. Mr. Bogue, of Englar

If the habit of delivering sermons before a militar pany should be continued, and another Christian m be found consenting another year to degrade the "b ness" of the gospel to the "blasphemy" of war, I h will be willing to attend to the following points: *Fir* numerous direct texts in the gospel, all of them emb war in their general condemnation, or enjoining *second*, the character of Christ and his immediate dis and the question, whether it is possible to suppose Chr the youthful John, or even the fiery Peter, doing d soldiers, either in the militia, or the regular army, or p ing sermons in praise of the profession of arms, or rid chaplains of a military parade; *third*, the history Christian church during the first four centuries, sh conclusively that it was then regarded as wrong in a tian to bear arms; *fourth*, if any kind of war is cont with Christianity, let him explain precisely what, end that its sacred sanctions may not be thrown o wars,—a piratical contest for Texas, or a mere q about the title to Oregon: *fifth*, if he should asser what are called defensive wars are consistent with tianity, let him explain precisely what is meant by a sive war, and show the possibility,—the most distant bility,—of the occurrence of such a war in this age, Christian nations; *sixth*, if he should conclude that tianity forbids all wars, or all wars but defensive while it is impossible and monstrous to suppose the c such a war in our age, let him then consider wheth preparations for war are not improper, and whet Christian minister is not justly reprehensible who them the sanction of his presence.

B.

[Referred to on page 15.]

Dr. Wayland's Views on War.—When the fore Oration was delivered I was not aware that its prin were sustained so entirely by an authority like Dr. land, in a work, *Elements of Moral Science*, which, grateful to know, enjoys an immense circulation, and not fail, therefore, to exercise an important influence the youth of the country. It is with great pleasure make the following extract, to which I invite the part attention of the reader:—

"Let us suppose a nation to abandon all means, b offence and of defence, to lay aside all power of infl injury, and to rely for self-preservation solely upon th tice of its own conduct, and the moral effect which s course of conduct would produce upon the conscien men. How would such a nation *procure redress of ances?* and how would it *be protected from foreign ag sion?*

"I. *Of redress of grievances.* Under this head wou comprehended violation of treaties, spoliation of pro and ill-treatment of its citizens. I reply,

"1. The very fact that a nation relied solely upo justice of its measures, and the benevolence of its co would do more than any thing else *to prevent* the occur of injury. The moral sentiment of every human co nity would rise in opposition to injury inflicted upo just, the kind, and the merciful. Thus, by this cours probabilities of aggression are rendered *as few* as the n of man will permit.

"2. But suppose injury to be done. I reply, the p appeal for moral beings upon moral questions, is n

force, but to the consciences of men. Let the e set forth, but be set forth in the spirit of love; his manner, if in any, will the consciences of men ed to justice.

t suppose this method to fail. Why, then, let us e injury. This is the preferable evil of the two. they have injured us a *little*, it does not follow that d injure ourselves *much*. But it will be said, what o become of our national honor? I answer, first, ve acted justly, we surely are not dishonored. The rests upon those who have done wickedly. I an- in, national honor is displayed in forbearance, in ess, in requiting faithlessness with fidelity, and es with kindness and good-will. These virtues are delightful and as honorable in nations as in indi-

t may be asked, what is to prevent repeated and d aggression? I answer, first, not instruments of on, but the moral principle which God has placed osom of every man. I think that obedience to the od, on the part of the injured, is the surest pre- against the repetition of injury. I answer, second- se that acting in obedience to the law of benevo- ll not prevent the repetition of injury, will acting principle of retaliation prevent it? This is really question. The evil tempers of the human heart ved to exist, and we are inquiring in what manner suffer the least injury from them; whether by the law of benevolence, or that of retaliation? It cessary, therefore, to show, that by adopting the enevolence, we shall not *suffer at all*, but that, by it, we shall suffer *less* than by the opposite course; a nation would actually thus suffer less upon the han by any other course, cannot, I think, be doubted ne who will calmly reflect upon the subject.

low would such a nation be protected from external nd entire subjugation? I answer, by adopting the enevolence, a nation would render such an event ghest degree improbable. The causes of national most commonly the love of plunder, and the love . The first of these is rarely, if ever, sufficient to e men to the ferocity necessary to war, unless sisted by the second. And by adopting as the rule onduct the law of benevolence, all motive arising second cause is taken away. There is not a nation e that could be led on to war against a harmless, giving and defenceless people.

suppose such a case really should occur, what are to do? I answer, suffer injury with forgiveness , looking up to God, who, in his holy habitation, is e of the whole earth. And if it be said, we shall be subjected and enslaved, I answer again, have vented men from being subjected and enslaved? Is nation on the continent of Europe that has not been by foreign troops several times, even within the century? And still more, is it not most commonly that the very means by which we repel a despot- abroad, only establishes over us a military des- t home? Since, then, the principle of retaliation with any certainty, save a country from conquest, question, as before, is, By obedience to which law tion he most likely to escape it, by the law of re- , or by that of benevolence? It seems to me that ho will calmly reflect, can have but little doubt on ter.

I go still farther. The Scriptures teach us that God ted men, both as individuals and as societies, under of benevolence; and that he intends this law to be Societies have never yet thought of obeying it in lings with each other; and statesmen would gene- sider the allusion to it as puerile. But this alters aw of God, nor the punishment which he inflicts tions for the violation of it. This punishment I to be war. I believe aggression from a foreign o be the intimation from God that we are disobey- law of benevolence, and that this is his mode of nations their duty, in this respect, to each other. ggression seems to me to be in no manner a call ation and injury, but rather a call to special kind- l good-will. And still farther, the requiting evil with good tends just as strongly to the cessation of all injury, in nations as in individuals. Let any man reflect upon the amount of pecuniary expenditure, and the awful waste of human life, which the wars of the last hundred years have occasioned, and then I will ask him whether it be not self-evident, that the one hundredth part of this expense and suffering, if employed in the honest effort to render mankind wiser and better, would, long before this time, have banished wars from the earth, and rendered the civilized world like the garden of Eden.

"If this be true, it will follow that the cultivation of a military spirit is the cultivation of a great curse to a community: and that all means, both of offence and defence, are worse than useless, inasmuch as they aggravate the very source of the evil, the corrupt passions of the human heart, by the manner in which they ineffectually attempt to check the evil itself.

"I am aware that all this may be *called* visionary, romantic and chimerical. This, however, neither *makes* it so, nor *shows* it to be so. The time to *apply* these epithets will be, when the justness of their application has been proved. And if it be said, these principles may all be very true, but you can never induce nations to act upon them; I answer, this concession admits that such is the law of God. If this be the case, that nation will be the happiest and the wisest which is the first to obey it. And if it be said, it would be wisest and best to obey the law of benevolence, but men will never obey it, I answer, here is manifestly the end of the argument. If we show men what is wisest and best, and according to the will of their Creator, we can do no more. If they disobey it, this is a matter to be settled between them and their God. It remains, however, to be seen, whether God will or will not cause his laws to be obeyed; and whether Omniscience and Omnipotence have not the means of teaching his creatures submission to his will."—pp. 397–401.

C.

[Referred to on page 24.]

The following beautiful anecdote from the second series of *Mrs. Child's Letters from New York*,—the production of a brave and beautiful soul,—furnishes an instructive illustration of the text:

"I have somewhere read of a regiment ordered to march into a small town and take it. I think it was in the Tyrol; but wherever it was, it chanced that the place was settled by a colony who believed the gospel of Christ, and proved their faith by works. A courier from a neighboring village informed them that troops were advancing to take the town. They quietly answered, 'If they *will* take it, they must.' Soldiers soon came riding in, with colors flying, and fifes piping their shrill defiance. They looked round for an enemy, and saw the farmer at his plough, the blacksmith at his anvil, and the women at their churns and spinning-wheels. Babies crowded to hear the music, and the boys ran out to see the pretty trainers, with feathers and bright buttons, 'the harlequins of the nineteenth century.' Of course none of these were in a proper position to be shot at. 'Where are your soldiers?' they asked. 'We have none,' was the brief reply. 'But we have come to take the town.' 'Well, friends, it lies before you.' 'But is there nobody here to fight?' 'No; we are all Christians.'

"Here was an emergency altogether unprovided for; a sort of resistance which no bullet could hit; a fortress perfectly bomb-proof. The commander was perplexed. "If there is nobody to fight with, of course we cannot fight,' said he. 'It is impossible to take such a town as this.' So he ordered the horses' heads to be turned about, and they carried the human animals out of the village, as guiltless as they entered, and perchance somewhat wiser.

"This experiment on a small scale indicates how easy it would be to dispense with armies and navies, if men only had faith in the religion they profess to believe. When France lately reduced her army, England immediately did the same; for the existence of one army creates the necessity for another, unless men are safely esconced in the bomb-proof fortress above mentioned."